1: Burrows--32 (1947-48) Woleaians
226 Ifalik

"Another important use of sennit cordage is for making fishing nets. Light cotton netting, used for dip-nets and a few light seines, is bought ready-made from abroad; but large seines (ating) 5 or 6 feet wide and up to 200 feet long, are made of golgol."

1: Burrows--33 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 226, 372 Ifalik

"Dried coconut leaves are used as torches, especially in night fishing. Other uses of the leaves in fishing will be described later."

"Root fibers of two plants are used for fish lures. The root of the guan, after the outer layer is removed, is soaked in salt water, bleached in the sun, then split into narrow strips, which are tied to the shank of a fish hook. This lure, called uelueliōp, gleams in the water and is said to be very effective. The white fiber of a bunch grass or sedge called bogo li le pā is used in the same way.

The inner bark of the āroma tree is said to be so tough that fish can not bite through it. After being dried in the sun, it is sometimes attached to a hook as a leader."

1: Burrows--83B (1947-48) Woleaians
226 Ifalik

"One night when a school of bonito had been surrounded by seines, natives in canoes kept several conch shell trumpets (as well as one or two navy boatswain's whistles) sounding over the lagoon all night."

1: Burrows--83C (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 462, 226 Ifalik

"Catching crabs is women's work. The largest and most prized variety is the coconut crab, that lives in holes about the bases of trees. It my [sic] be smoked out of the hole, or dug out with a pointed digging-stick. The people know that these crabs come out at night, and can be hunted with torches; but this way of catching them is seldom practised. Other land crabs are occasionally gathered, and several kinds of sea crabs are caught by hand on the reef at low tide."

1: Burrows--83E (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 226 Ifalik

"Men's kinds of fishing are so numerous that probably this account does not include all that are known and occasionally practised. The list of fishing methods noted by Sarfert during his short stay on Ifalik includes several I did not hear of, --as my list includes several not in his. Having learned elsewhere about fishing with a baited hook attached to a kite flown over the water, he asked the people of Ifalik about it, and was told it was known and practised there. But we saw none of it. He was also told of catching shark with a noose, which is spread out, while a separate line run across it holds a smaller fish used for bait. No shark were caught during our stay, except for small sand-shark occasionally rounded up in seines or caught on a hook. He also lists fishing with poison as a technique learned from Yap. My question about this was answered in the negative. Ifalik has a few Barringtonia trees, whose crushed fruit is used elsewhere for fish poison. The people told me they knew of this method being practised elsewhere, but did not use it themselves. And indeed, in the absence of fresh-water streams, which make narrow channels in the fringing reef, I know of no suitable enclosed spaces in the water where the poison could be effectively concentrated."

1: Burrows--83E (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 226, 462 Ifalik

"Fishing, which involves a greater variety of techniques and apparatus than all the rest of the food quest, is men's work; almost exclusively, but not quite. Women rummage on the reef for crabs, shellfish and any fish which may have been left in shallow pools by the outgoing tide. Another kind of fishing they do is an extension of that process. It consists of surrounding with a mat or screen of coconut leaf a slab of coral that stands in shallow water. When it is all fenced in, they move the slab. There is an incantation to lighten this work:

Gērige vaul!	Come now, stone!
Trō le gurok bweje wāje!	Like a gurok leaf, be light!
Io! Gaje vā! Eu i langēia!	Oho! Be light! Rise up!

When the fish dart out from under the slab, they are stopped by the coconut leaf barrier, and caught in dip-nets.

It is said that women also make temporary fish weirs of plaited coconut leaf, which they set out along the reef, weighting the leaves down with blocks of coral. This is apparently not a common practise, at least during the part of the year when we were there. I never saw it done. The secondary part that women play in a bonito drive will be described later."

1: Burrows--83F (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 226, 177 Ifalik 12

"Another method [KS: of fishing] described by Sarfert--and attested by specimens of tackle used--consists of fishing for flying-fish with double-pointed gorges. These were attached by short lines to empty coconut shells, plugged so they would stay afloat. A number of them were tossed into the water. The bobbing of the shell showed when a fish was caught on one of the gorges. Bits of young coconut leaf serve as lures, a detail not noted by Sarfert. The following incantation accompanies this fishing technique, which is called mät:

Saū a li go!	Come, flying-fish!
Saū e li var!	Come bite my hooks!
Go tami le i meraku!	Do not delay!
Gou wa li geru a!	Come at once!
Mwa ramu gatāgei alo!	Hurry, before the sun comes up,
Tā perē la getriou.	And the red getriou buds open.
Ngē nutu ngē nut',	Up and down swim the hooked fish,
Nutu fē li pāle	They rise to the hook,
Nutu rangē rang'.	They fly out of the water.
Trū eru ge le mwanne!	Come through the water!
Saū e li var!	Come bite my hooks!

Go tai ninge mware ru ŋ pa.	It is not good, two pieces of white leaf.
Go ninge mware rueik.	It is in good with twenty.

Nowadays steel hooks are used instead of wooden gorges. Foreign hooks have also--so far as my observation goes--replaced two other types collected by Sarfert: simple recurved hooks of tortoise shell, and large wooden ones for shark."

1: Burrows--83F-83G (1947-48) Woleaians 1-3
116, 226 Ifalik

"The native composite trolling hook is still in use. Wooden boxes with fitted lids (sawe le pā) with one or more hooks in them, were hanging up in all the canoe-houses.

Trolling for bonito has the greatest emotional appeal of any kind of fishing, to judge by the fact that 5 out of 16 fishing songs collected celebrated feats of bonito trolling. No other kind of fishing had more than two songs. Yet this kind of fishing was not once undertaken during our stay. Weather may account for this. Trolling has to be done in small canoes outside the lagoon, and is only feasible during fairly calm weather; and a good deal of the dalmest weather comes during the part of the year when we were absent. Yet the people did not say that this was a seasonal kind of fishing; only that wind and sea had to be just right. Having worked in two Polynesian islands where this strenuous kind of fishing had gone out of use, I wonder whether it is on the decline in Ifalik.

Enough was learned about it to indicate that it follows the same general pattern as in Polynesia. The poles are of bamboo, most of which has to be imported. The lines, said to have been made of hibiscus bast before foreign lines were available, are about the same length as the pole. The presence of a school of bonito is often indicated by a flock of sea birds--in Ifalik the white fairy tern and the black noddy--hovering over to catch the small fry as they leap out of water to escape the bonito. The canoe paddles over the [83G] school, and the fisherman--one in the stern of each canoe--lets out his line astern, resting the pole in the forked head of the canoe or sometimes against his body. The pole is tilted at such an angle that the hook skitters along the surface of the water.

As he lets out the hook, the fisherman holds the pole with one hand, while with the other he splashes water over the lure. This throws a screen of water between the hook and the boat, so that the bonito which sees the hook will not see the boat just beyond it and be scared away. The fisherman keeps up this splashing while he is in the school, when not too busy hauling in fish.

When a fish strikes the hook, it is hauled in with one motion. The tip of the pole is raised, lifting the fish out of water, then swung around slowly, in order not to frighten away the other fish--until the fisherman is facing the bow, when he lets the fish strike against his chest, which knocks it off the barbless hook into the bottom of the boat. Failing this, the sailor sitting nearest him may remove the fish from the hook. It must be done quickly, for the canoe is only in the middle of the school for a short time, and the fisherman must make the most of that time.

Several bits of religious or magical procedure accompany this kind of fishing. Before they set out, the fishermen must bathe carefully, to remove any odor of the body or perfume of their wives or sweethearts. Once a fisherman takes a pearl-shell out of its box, he must have no contact with a woman until he has returned from fishing. As he sets out, he waves a branch of aro, and sings a prayer to a god, to vouchsafe him a good catch. No one god has power over bonito-trolling, but each fisherman sings to a god whom he considers favorable to him. Leaves of aro may be rubbed over the body and on the

lure. The fisherman[sic] may adorn themselves--as men do on any social occasion--with strips of white young coconut leaf. This leaf is also displayed on the return trip as a sign of success. As will be seen later, some of these precautions and bits of ritual also accompany other kinds of fishing.

A similar kind of trolling is practised from large sailing canoes over reefs within sailing distance of Ifalik. The most frequented, called Vasulos, lies about an overnight sail from Ifalik, a little west of north. This reef is also called Faiaulap or Great Faiau. One trip there was made during our stay on the island. The catch consisted of one yellow-fin tuna, weighing perhaps 100 lbs. This was the only tuna caught during our stay, and its flesh is highly prized; yet one fish was considered hardly worth the effort of the long trip. It was also reported that the seas were breaking over the reef, so the expedition was not repeated during our stay. The time was December 6, early in the trade-wind season. Calmer seas are to be expected near the end of that season, and such expeditions may be more frequent at that time. Species commonly caught by this kind of fishing, besides yellow-fin tuna are albacore, pompano (Hawaiian ulua), and wahoo (Hawaiian ono)."

1: Burrows--83G (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 226 Ifalik

"Hook and line are also used for angling about coral heads in the lagoon, a method practised mostly by solitary fishermen who expect no greater catch than will make a family meal. Casting along the shore, with small hooks, is another minor kind of fishing. Occasionally, at low tide, men will cast into the surf at the outer edge of the fringing reef on the eastern side of the atoll. However, as they have no reels, and use lines not much longer than the poles, the casts are short."

1: Burrows--83H (1947-48) Woleaians 1.1
116, 226 Ifalik

"Fish traps, (ul), are made of wattle. The frames are of light withes. Coconut leaflet midrib, commonly doubled, is used to fill in the walls. The pieces are lashed together with light sennit cord. There are two distinct sizes, differing in name and use.

The smaller traps, ul pam, average 2 or 3 feet long and 1 or 2 feet high. The general shape is diagrammed in Fig. 16a and b. These are set on the bottom in the shallow water near shore on the lagoon side. They are weighted down by pouring sand over them. Most of it sifts through, but some stays on the bottom of the trap and some on the top. It also gives the trap a natural appearance, like that of the surrounding bottom. These traps are baited with crushed crab of the small kind called ragūm. The fish most commonly caught in them is the oerIk, a fish averaging four to six inches long, schools of which appear suddenly in the lagoon, stay for a time, and then as suddenly vanish. The fish are cooked whole on green leaves laid over the usual light fire of rubbish. Before eating, they are cleaned by removing the heads, tails, skins, and the spine with entrails. Thus it takes several fish to make a mouthful. In spite of their small size they make very good eating. For over a month, beginning in mid-November and continuing through December into January, they constituted the main supply of fish. Occasionally other fish are caught in these traps. The best catch seen numbered a dozen or more fish of fairly good size; up to about a foot long. They were reef fish of various kinds, mostly parrot-fish and goat-fish.

The larger traps, ul merouā or merouel, run about six feet long, three feet wide,

and two feet high (Fig. 19, c and d). They are carried out to sea in sailing canoes to search for drifting logs, which attract certain kinds of fish. When a log is sighted, the men dive overboard and fasten the trap to it. It is said that huge catches are sometimes made in this way, but during our stay the canoes went out day after day without so much as finding a log; and only twice did they have fair success. The largest catch reported was '200'. The largest seen numbered about 100, rather small fish, mostly of the kind called rel, with a few larger fōfō. Fish caught in this way are laid directly on the coals and broiled whole. We were warned not to put them in our frying-pan, for if we did there would be no more driftwood.

These large traps are also sometimes set on the seaward side of the reef. Tom described a bit of ritual accompanying their use. When driftwood is sighted, a half coconut shell is attached to a stick called merouel, and an incantation sung over it. Then stick and shell are put inside the trap. Nothing was said about bait being put in the shell."

1: Burrows--83I-83J (1947-48) Woleaians 1-2
116, 226 Ifalik

"The most important fishing done with dip-nets, and the technique [83J] attended with more formality and ceremony than any other, is catching flying-fish by torchlight. This kind of fishing, with all its institutional elaboration, is called turu.

When the trade-wind season, called vang or seu e vang, has about three months to go, the chiefs may order the observance of turu. This is not done every year. The only consideration mentioned as determining whether it should be done or not was that turu is observed 'when there is plenty of food.' Since there is always plenty of taro and coconuts--except after a typhoon--and since breadfruit is out of season at this time, I could not make out the meaning of this statement. It might refer to an observed abundance of flying-fish. But the same factor--abundance of food --is also said to determine the time when men's dances are performed. It seems to be a conventional explanation for a decision made 'on impulse'--that is, based on an indefinite variety of factors.

During the observance of turu [KS: turu-catching flying fish by torchlight], all the men sleep in the canoe-houses or, formerly, the men's house. They are forbidden to enter the dwellings in which women sleep, or to have sexual intercourse. They may not eat preserved breadfruit (mar). It is permissible to eat fresh breadfruit, if there is any; but there would never be much at this time of year. Their principal food is taro--both pulax and the scarcer wot--and coconuts. The food is cooked by the women, who bring it to the canoe-houses, but leave it outside, being forbidden to enter. The observance lasts for three moons.

The technique of fishing principally associated with turu involves preparation of many torches of dried coconut leaves, which are rolled into bundles and fastened by wrapping and tucking in the leaflets. Canoes, each supplied with plenty of these torches, go out of the lagoon on calm nights, fishing in the open sea, mostly not far from the seaward side of the reef. They light the torches, which have given their name, turu, to the whole observance. The light attracts the flying-fish. While some of the men handle the torches, and others manage the canoes, the most skillful wielders of dip-nets catch the fish as they swim about the boat. An occasional one may be caught in mid-air, as it flies over the boat or strikes against a sail; but the main supply is dipped out of the water."

"Serving as a charter for this institutional kind of fishing [KS: turu-catching flying fish by torchlight] is a myth which attributes its origin to Maur, leader and orator of ancient times, and ancestral holder of the second chiefly title, which decends [sic] in the Sauvelārlk clan. The myth as told to me follows:

Maur went to Woleai, took a wife there, and had a son, who lived on the islet Falāris, while Maur and his wife lived on one of the other islands. One day Maur went over to Falāris to see his son, taking with him his sleeping mat and wooden pillow (ulul), which he prized highly.

When he returned, at nightfall, and opened out the sleeping-mat, he was much disturbed to find that the wooden pillow was not in it. It could not be found in the house, or anywhere about, so he decided that it must have been lost overboard on the journey from Falāris. Taking a supply of torches, he shoved off again in his canoe to search for the pillow.

Attracted by the light of the torch, flying-fish gathered about the boat, thick as mosquitoes. Some of them flew against the sail and fell [83K] into the canoe. Maur attached a dip-net to a long pole and scooped out many of the fish that were swarming in the water about the canoe. When he came back, his pillow had been found; and he brought in a notable catch of fish.

'How did you get them? ' he was asked.

'Let all the people assemble', he replied, 'and I will teach them'.

When the people gathered around, he showed them how to make the dip-nets and attach a long handle to them, and how to prepare coconut-leaf torches. And they went out and caught many flying-fish.

When Maur came back to his home on Ifalik he brought with him the knowledge of this new kind of fishing. From Ifalik and Woleai it spread to other islands; to Faraulep, and Aurupik (Eaurupīk), and Sorol, and Yap. The lore even reached distant Nauru. But to this day many islands have not mastered it. Nearby Lanotrek is one of them. Satawan, Puluwat, and many others, still do not know how to catch flying-fish by torchlight.

Sarfert collected a version of this myth, somewhat less detailed and with minor variations, but in essentials the same as the one just given."

1: Burrows--83K (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 226 Ifalik

"Coconut-leaf torches are also used for fishing in shallow water without canoes; either wading in the lagoon near the beach, or walking at low tide on the exposed reef, where fish may be impounded in shallow pools. Usually three to six people accompany each light. Only men and boys were seen when the fishing was in the lagoon. For scouring the reef, some of the groups were also made up entirely of men, but others were household parties including women. The torch is usually carried in the left hand of the most expert fisherman. In his right hand he carries a dip-net. One of the others carries a basket to hold the fish; another a bundle of spare torches. Some kinds of fish, especially limen, may be struck with bush knives. Spears are not used in this kind of fishing. One of the fish most commonly taken with the dip-net in the lagoon is the needle-fish, which swims near the surface. Scouring the reef yields a greater variety. Crabs and molluscs may also be picked up there."

1: Burrows--83K (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 226, 262 Ifalik

"Not only are flying-fish prized as food; they are also used as bait to catch larger species. Large hooks are attached to stout lines, baited with flying-fish, weighted with coral sinkers, and lowered to considerable depths in the open sea near the seaward side of the reef. The species caught are tangeri, yellow-fin tuna; ngal, wahoo or (Hawaiian) ono; and aule, 'a big, fat one', probably albacore. This kind of fishing supplements the netting of flying-fish by torchlight, and so forms part of the institutional turu."

1: Burrows--83K (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 226, 177 Ifalik

"Casting-nets are known in Ifalik, but little used. As it happens, I just once saw a man walking along the beach with a casting-net over his shoulder; and did not see him throw it. His net, and the others seen in the canoe-houses, were of imported cotton netting. This, and the fact that Damm does not mention casting-nets, suggest that they may be a recent introduction."

E. Burrows--83K-83L (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 286, 462, 226 Ifalik

"Seines (äting) are among the most important of all fishing devices on Ifalik. Seine-making is men's work, nearly always carried on in the canoe-houses. Sennit cord of the common size called golgol is wound on a netting needle or shuttle (zäp) of a form widespread in the Pacific. [83L] Most of those on Ifalik are cut out of a piece of split bamboo, from 1 foot to 18 inches long and about 2 inches wide. At each end prongs extend from the sides and nearly meet in the middle, leaving only a narrow opening for the cord (Fig. 21). The meshes are kept equal in size by use of a gage (äf). It is a slab of wood like a stubby ruler, averaging perhaps 5 inches long, 2 inches wide and 1/4 inch thick. The mesh of the nets is about 4 inches.

The seines are made in sections 2 1/2 to 3 feet wide. The first row of loops is attached to a stick that acts as a spreader. This is suspended from one of the tie-beams of the canoe-house. Other rows of loops are added downward. The knot used is illustrated in the Damm report. Two sections are joined to give the complete seine a width of 5 or 6 feet.

A row of wooden floats is attached along what will be the upper side. Most of these are plain blocks or slabs, but some are carved in ornamental shapes. A crude representation of a fish is one of the commonest. The other side is weighted with coral sinkers, unworked."

1: Burrows--83L (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 226 Ifalik

"The length of a seine can be extended indefinitely. Two sizes are recognized. The longer ones, called ausepā, measured by pacing off a number of them spread on the ground to dry, average a little less than 200 feet. The shorter ones, called ăting e sau, run less than half that long, with considerable variation among them. The people make the distinction that an ăting e sau can be cast several times in a day; while one cast of an ausepā is a day's work. For the largest operations, such as rounding up a school of bonito, a number of seines are stretched end to end, and further extended by lines of rope at both ends and across any gaps between seines in the middle. The length of such a barrier is limited rather by available manpower than by material. We never saw all the seines of Ifalik in use at one time. Judging by the two bonito drives seen, a total length of half a mile for seines and rope is not uncommon.

For shorter casts, single seines may be used in the same way as the leaf-fringed lines in rop fishing. Or two seines, usually of the shorter size, may be used to extend the sides of a short section of net which is doubled and then sewed along the lower edge to form a pocket. When stretched straight, these form a V-shaped barrier with the pocket-shaped piece at the apex. An enclosure is formed by bringing together the outer ends of the seines which form the arms of the V. This is then narrowed by hauling in the seines in the usual way. When all the fish are driven into a small space near the apex, they are taken out, first by dip-nets, and finally lifting the pocket-shaped net out of water and dumping the fish into a canoe."

1: Burrows--83L-83M (1947-48) Woleaians 1-3
116, 226 Ifalik

"The climax of seine fishing comes when a school of bonito enters the lagoon. Indeed, though less celebrated in songs than trolling (which better displays individual prowess), and less attended with myth and ritual than torchlight expeditions for flying-fish, such an occasion involves more people (virtually all able-bodied individuals), and when successful yields a greater quantity of food than any other fishing. We saw two such drives. The first ended in failure, but the second was a success, capturing the whole school. That worked up a higher pitch of public excitement than any other event of our six months' stay on the island. [83M]

Except for the outcome, the course of events was much the same during the two drives, one August 1, the other August 9. The following account is pieced together from notes taken on the two days. The actual catch and succeeding activities were witnessed, of course, only once.

Both times the fish were sighted early in the morning. It takes a skilled eye to distinguish the little ripple or swirl made by a school of bonito from all the other surface movements of the water; but the difference is so important that the male population has life-long practise at it. Months later, a false alarm had the men out on the beach or in canoes for a while, until the disturbance was found to be made by small fry. The first time, the announcement was made by boys, who sped by in three canoes, shouting the glad tidings. Tom said afterward that the cry is Garangap ē! (Bonito ho!) The second time, it was Maroligar, No. 2 chief, always an early riser, who first saw the school of

fish. It is one of his functions to take charge of a bonito drive. He hurried to the nearest canoe-house and bellowed at the top of his voice to call out the men. To us, in our tent close beside the same canoe-house, it seemed that they took their time about getting there. Certainly they showed no such amazing speed as did the immediate neighbors on the one occasion when I saw a thatched roof catch fire. Still, they probably turned out as fast as they well could for what was apt to be a long day's work.

The first task was strenuous: hauling canoes from the canoe-houses into the water; unrolling seines, which are stowed on the tie-beams in balls some three feet in diameter; dragging them to the water--with men strung a few yards apart along them--and piling them into the boats; then heading for the rendezvous where they hoped to surround the school.

Meanwhile the women began their contribution. Gathered in several groups near shore, they sang and danced their serenade, the bwarux, with beckoning motions of the hands and erotic swinging of the hips. Primarily this dance is performed by one woman for one man, her sweetheart, in the utmost privacy. The very name bwarux is not uttered by people of either sex in the presence of the other. It is only on this occasion, so far as we saw, that it is performed in chorus and in public. (One other time at a men's dance, several women sang a bwarux, by way of applause and encouragement, but did not dance it.)

Later inquiry about the purpose of this performance brought only the usual answer that it was an ancient custom. My guess is that the song and dance were addressed to the men, to cheer them on, rather than with any magic purpose in mind. The words may be those of any well-known love song. Once when I passed close to a group as they sang, their giggles and sidelong glances suggested that they were improvising words about me."

"There are four places about the edge of the lagoon where the impounding of a school of bonito is said to be feasible. One is a little bay off the beach of Falārlk district. The second is the bay called Le, opposite the men's house in Rauau district. The third is the shallow water next to the beach on Falālap, just north of the largest canoe-house on that island called Gavilea. The fourth is a bay near the northernmost point of the uninhabited islet Ellā. The one used on both occasions during our stay was that off the shore of Falālap. It is nearer the pass [83N] than the sites off Falārlk; the line of seines when fully extended there nearly shuts off the pass. It is nearer the canoe-houses than the site of Ellā. Whether these were the reasons for using it I could not make sure. It seems not to be a matter of where the school is first sighted, for the fish swim fast, and on both occasions made the circuit of the lagoon more than once.

The men stretched a line of seines, with intervals of rope, from one canoe to another, forming a barrier that extended from the shore nearly due west to the pass. At this stage on the first day there were 22 canoes in the line, ranging in size from the smallest to big sailing canoes. The number increased later to 33, then 37, but some of these were in other parts of the lagoon, trying to round up the school of fish, which escaped at least twice. The largest number of canoes counted in action at one time was 46; 26 of them in the line of seines and rope, the others driving the fish toward the barrier.

The next step, that of bringing the ends of the line of nets around the school of fish, is slow and hazardous. Towing or hauling the nets is hard work and can not be hurried.

At this stage the women take a more active part, wading out to help pull the nets. This interferes with the dance, but they go on singing. Partly towed by canoes, partly hauled by lines of men and women, the nets were swung around and their ends hauled in until they formed a crescent with its points toward shore. By the time this was accomplished on the first day, it was too late to complete the catch before dark. So the ends of the net were pulled together, leaving the fish impounded. All night canoes moved about the circle of nets. Conch trumpets and boatswain's whistles were blown, apparently to keep them from escaping. But they did escape, not only from the nets but from the lagoon, into the open sea.

On the afternoon of the second day, after several escapes, the school was herded into the space between the crescent of nets and the beach, and kept there while the two ends of the crescent were hauled ashore. The hauling continued, bringing the fish into shallower water, closer and closer to shore. Soon they could be plainly seen whirling about within the narrowing barrier. The top of the net was sometimes lifted where they came near, or they were frightened back by shouts and splashing.

The excitement mounted. All the men were shouting orders at each other. Many of the men had managed to deck themselves with young white coconut leaf during the slow hours earlier in the day. The women who were not hauling on the line came dancing down to the beach, swinging their hips in wider circles than ever. The ranking chief and

the foreign observer, as they stood on the beach, were ardently wooed behind their backs.

Some of the big blue fish began to flop ashore. Men and women ran down, seized them by the tail with one hand and ran a finger of the other under a gill-cover, then tossed them up on the bank. Others were seized and thrown from the water. Sometimes the chiefs order the use of spears at this stage; but this time they decided that the catch could be managed better without them.

The whole catch was carried, some in canoes and some by hand to the space in front of the men's house, and laid in a great heap. People took [830] time out to breathe and bathe, and eat a hasty snack.

After dark, by the light of a fire of dry coconut leaves, the catch was counted and distributed. The total number was 311 (at least one had previously been given away, to the anthropologists). Garegeligar, priest and healer, seemed to be in charge of the distribution, though he is not a chief. (He never missed a chance of being the center of attention.) The counting and tossing the fish into piles was begun by the lowest ranking chief, Toroman. He handled the fish one at a time, calling out the count. When he tired, his place was taken by one of the strongest men, who handled the fish in pairs, one in each hand. The count was called out in the same way, except for the tens; that is, after nine came twenty, after the second nine, forty, and so on.

The first distribution was made by districts: Falālap, then Rauau, then Falārlk. Within each district there seemed to be a count of heads, by households; at any rate, it

was said that one fish was allotted to each person. As the pile for each district was finished, young men came up, bowing low in deference to the authority represented by the occasion (though only the lowest-ranking chief was taking part), and carried the fish away.

There were plenty of fish left, so the distribution continued. First five small piles were counted out, one for each of the chiefs. Then three larger piles, one for each of the most populous and highest-ranking clans: Kovalū, Sauvelārlk, Mangaulevār. The other five clans were ignored in this allottment, though the lowest chiefly title belongs in one of them. However, that clan, Rapevelū, has less than half as many members as any of the ranking three.

Still a few fish were left. I did not make out on what basis they were allotted, but they were divided into little piles, and taken away by young men, like the others."

1: Burrows--83P (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 226 Ifalik

"Some indication of the relative importance of different kinds of communal fishing is given by journal entries of expeditions noted during our stay. It applies mainly to Rauau district, partly to Rauau and FalārIk together. (Falālap had a different schedule, though on the same general pattern.) The long gaps during the early months may mean that fishing was less noticed at first. Yet it is also possible that during that time most of the fishing was done individually or in small groups. That was a daily undertaking. The journal entries take no account of it, except for the use of small traps, which was a general response to the appearance of the little OerIk in the lagoon."

1: Burrows--83P-83S (1947-48) Woleaians 1-5
116, 226 Ifalik

"Fluctuations that appear in the list are not necessarily seasonal, as some kinds of fish come and go at irregular intervals. Indeed, the kind of fishing that is most strictly seasonal, torchlight expeditions for flying-fish, is not noted at all, as it was never witnessed. It comes at the end of the trade-wind season, when we were not there.

The entries follow:

Aug. 1. -Bonito in lagoon. Left in the circle of nets overnight.
Aug. 2. -The school of bonito got away during the night.
Aug. 9. -Bonito in lagoon again. All caught late in the day.
September 6. -One turtle caught.
September 20. -Men of all districts fished night and morning for feast in connection with religious ceremony. (The kind of fishing was not noted because of concentration on the ceremony.)
Oct. 6 -Big rop fishing, 8 to 10 canoes. Small catch. [83Q]
Oct. 11. -Rop fishing by men of Rauau. Good catch, estimated at 200. Reef fish, many of them parrot-fish.
Oct. 13. -Three sailing canoes put out with traps, looking for driftwood. Found none.
Oct. 14. -One canoe put out with trap; driven back by strong wind.
Oct. 15. -Canoes continue to go out at dawn every day. No luck so far.
Oct. 19. -Daily sorties with traps abandoned. Twelve canoes from Rauau, 8 from Falārlk, went out today for rop fishing. Came back early in the afternoon

with a good catch, estimated at 200. Reef fish of many kinds, parrot fish predominating. Large black ulua presented to us.

Oct. 22. -Canoes from Falālap out rop fishing. Good catch; provided a feast for the men who had recently replaced a corner-post on one of the canoe-houses.

Oct. 28. -Rop fishing by Rauau men. Fair catch; '20-odd big ones and a few shovelfuls of little ones.'

Oct. 30. -For several days men in all the canoe-houses have been making big seines for Falālap.

Nov. 6. -Rather large party from Rauau and Falārlk; 22 canoes counted. (Fishing probably rop.) Poor luck; reported at 50-60 fish. In the afternoon, Rauau men swept the reef near the men's house with seines. Good catch, reported at 300.

Nov. 14. -The little Oerlk (Anchoviella?) has appeared in large numbers in the lagoon. People are setting out small traps for them. First catch noted this day. (For some time after this, use of small traps for oerlk was a general daily practise. It seemed to go by bursts and only conspicuous activity is noted.)

Nov. 16. -One canoe from Rauau, one from Falārlk, went out with large traps looking for driftwood. No luck.

Nov. 18. -Everybody setting out small traps, catching oerlk.

Nov. 19. -At last a good catch with a big trap, around driftwood at sea. Number reported at 200, which seems a standard figure for a good haul.

Nov. 20-22. -Canoes out daily after driftwood. The usual poor luck. Fish are scarce.

Nov. 24. -An unusual catch in one of the small traps, of fish bigger than oerIk, about a dozen, mostly parrot -fish and goat-fish.

Nov. 26. -A turtle came ashore at night and was caught.

Nov. 27. -Another turtle speared in the lagoon.

Nov. 28. -A third turtle caught; this one came ashore.

Nov. 29. -Wolpetau, No. 1 chief, butchered the three turtles. [83R]

Dec. 4. -Scarcity of fish continues.
Canoes have been going out pretty regularly, looking for driftwood. One of them made another good catch in the big trap; about 100.

Dec. 6. -A canoe went trolling over the district reef Vasulos. Caught one yellow-fin tuna perhaps 4 feet long; but this was not considered enough for the long, hard trip. High seas reported over the reef.

Dec. 12. -The boys went out still-fishing over the fringing roof on the eastern side of Falālap, to get fish for a feast celebrating completion of canoe-house repairs in Rauau. Used small canoes, as in solitary fishing; but went out in a body, and to an unusual place. Catch rather small, mostly the red toothy lipwaix.

Supplemented at feast by a clam-like bivalve.

Dec. 13. -At least two sailing canoes out this morning after driftwood. Caught nothing. Maroligar ordered a scouring of the reef by torchlight at low tide, which came in the middle of the night. Five lights counted on the western barrier reef. Others fished the fringing reef on the eastern side. Catch reported small.

Dec. 15. -First and only considerable catch in a coral weir. Number estimated at 100. Commonest species looked to me like horse macherel, [sic] but identification is not certain.

Dec. 16. -19. Shortage of fish continues. Canoes go out nearly every day with big traps, but find no drifting logs, though many are coming ashore on the eastern beach. Small traps are not set out along the lagoon beach for oerIk; some are caught, but not many.

Dec. 20-26. -Small traps set out daily for oerIk. No communal fishing. High seas, --a near-hurricane on the 21st. Men busy in the canoe-houses making small traps.

Jan. 2. -Young men of Rauau out rop fishing. Moderate catch. Estimated at 100. This was for a feast following a ceremony on behalf of a sick woman.

Jan. 15-19. -Seas calmer, some angling even on eastern fringing reef; but the

daily trapping of oerIk seems still to furnish the main supply.

Jan. 24. -No more catches of oerIk. They seem to have left the lagoon. Men of Rauau and FalārIk spent all day making several casts of small seine along lagoon shore. Catch small while I was watching, but later we were brought two fish big enough to make a good dinner for the two of us.

Jan. 26. -Men of Rauau and FalārIk spent all day on one cast with the big seine on the lagoon shore. One end anchored to a stone pier. Catch moderate, but again we were brought two fish, one of which was enough for us. [83S]

Jan. 29. -Disappearance of oerIk seems confirmed. None have been caught for some days now, and the people have given up setting out traps for them.

Feb. 2. -Men and boys of Rauau went torchlight fishing on the eastward fringing reef. Catch reported small.

Feb. 3. -Another torchlight expedition on the eastward reef."

(1947-48)

"While this list has some value for illustration, it is obviously too slight a foundation for any general statement as to which kinds of fishing are most in favor or most successful. With this limitation in mind, its showing can be roughly summarized in tabular form. Only communal methods are included, which leaves out the use of small traps for oerIk, casting, and most of the angling.

Fishing Technique	Number of Mentions	Large Catches	Small Catches	Failures
large traps	9	2	0	7
rop	5	2	3	0
seines	4	1	2	1
torchlight (on the reef)	3	0	3	0
trolling	1	0	1	0
angling (communal)	1	0	1	0

This review of fishing methods makes it clear that the people of Ifalik are not well supplied with fish. The lagoon, not quite a square mile in extent, is not big enough to

furnish an adequate supply. The reef, too, is limited in extent. Moreover, it is inaccessible because of high surf except in calm weather. The open sea has few fish. Shallow reefs in the vicinity of Ifalik are the best fishing grounds; but they are accessible, in native canoes, only when the wind is in the right direction, and not too strong."

1: Burrows--117
116, 226, 466

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"The slow but exciting task of rounding up a school of bonito was similarly marked by periodic outbursts of shouting along the line of canoes. At the climax of the successful attempt, when the line of seines was herding the big fish to the beach, a high proportion of the men on the job were acting as if they were in charge. Particularly noticeable, to an observer on the shore, was GauaisIg, a respected craftsman but too old for strenuous work. He hobbled back and forth along the beach, gesticulating and shouting at the top of his rather feeble voice. Nobody seemed to pay the slightest attention."

1: Burrows--117
116, 396, 226, 466

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"As to direction of labor, final authority over every job of concern to more than one household rests with the chiefs. All such jobs, like district fishing parties, repairing a canoe-house, or a general clean-up, are undertaken at their order. But it was only during the bonito drives that chiefs were seen to assume active command.

The building of a large sailing canoe requires permission of the chiefs, presumably because it makes such inroads on the available manpower. The course of the work itself is under the direction of an expert shipwright, who may or may not also be a chief. Tom, as a sennap, was nominally in charge of the building of his canoe. But since his time had been allotted by the chiefs to Spiro and me, he delegated supervision of the work on the canoe to his brother, Magaleisei, also a sennap.

An observer who had not been told in advance who was in charge of a job would ordinarily have difficulty in picking him out. The only tasks in which a boss was clearly in evidence, within my observation, were the drawing of lines on what was to be the bottom of a canoe, and the hurried launching that followed the sighting of a school of bonito in the lagoon. The drawing of lines has to be constantly, narrowly supervised. The sighting of a school of bonito is a crucial moment and calls for utmost haste. On the two occasions when we witnessed it, the usually mild Maroligar came hobbling to the canoe-house at the best speed he could make, bawling orders at the top of his voice, his eyes blazing."

1: Burrows--120
116, 226, 476, 286

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"A few public works concern the whole atoll. In these, kinship ties become irrelevant. Most conspicuous are the drives to round up a school of bonito in the lagoon. Everybody turns out, and everybody shares in the catch when there is one.

Another, but related, task of this kind was undertaken in October, 1947. One or more of the big seines kept in the canoe-house on Falālap had rotted beyond repair. This was a matter for the attention of the chiefs, as the nominal owners of these seines. They ordered the manufacture of a new seine for Falālap.

For some days thereafter men could be seen busy on sections of seine, not only in the canoe-house on Falālap but in the others, all the way to northernmost Falārlk. Now this seine was to be kept in Falālap, and used more often than not for district expeditions from which only the people of Falālap would benefit. Why should the men of other districts be called upon to help make it? In answer to this question, Tom replied that, in case of a bonito drive, the whole island takes part, and shares the benefit. So the making of these seines, which calls for a large expenditure of material and labor, is considered the task of the whole atoll. Like all such tasks, it involved reciprocal obligations. When it is Falārlk's turn to get a new seine, Falālap men will help. Incidentally, this undertaking required individual contributions, not only of labor, but of material, sennit cord, much of which had been made individually before this particular use of it was foreseen. Such cordage, we have noted, is regarded as individual property, though with the element of trusteeship involved in all individual ownership on Ifalik."

1: Burrows--121 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 226, 476, 621 Ifalik

"Different kinds of fishing are carried on by groups of all sizes, and afford a review of all the forms of cooperation exemplified by other tasks. To begin with the smallest, a man may go fishing alone to feed his household or meet some special obligation, such as that involved in adopting a child. All the men of a household may unite for similar purposes. These small fishing parties are united both by kinship and coresidence.

Larger parties, overstepping kinship lines but still united, as a rule, by residence in the same neighborhood or district, are required to man some kinds of fishing apparatus --rop drag, seine, large trap (which is taken out to sea in a sailing canoe, and so calls for a full crew). Fishing with tackle of these kinds is most often a district enterprise. In the case of rop drag or seine, all the men of the district, except for the infirm or a few who may have other urgent tasks, are expected to turn out. It does not take so many to man a canoe, and expeditions with the big traps, while usually district undertakings too, are generally manned by crews who are age-mates as well as neighbors--the groups of young men who gather in the different canoe-houses. Finally must be mentioned once more the bonito drive, which calls out the largest possible group, the entire able-bodied population."

1: Burrows--182 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 226, 784 Ifalik

"Taboo periods are imposed on men in connection with certain kinds of fishing, as described in connection with fishing technology. The longest and most severe is associated with torchlight fishing for flying-fish, when the men must sleep in the canoe-houses for three months, and during that time must abstain from sexual intercourse and from eating preserved breadfruit."

1: Burrows--182 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 226, 784 Ifalik

"The other taboo period in connection with fishing follows a successful drive on a school of bonito in the lagoon. After such a catch, none of the men may work, except for smoking the fish and a few other specified light tasks such as making sinnet cordage, for three days. They must also avoid sexual intercourse during that time. If a man violates this taboo, he will be unable to spear any fish the next time a school of bonito is rounded up.

Various minor taboos apply to other kinds of fishing. For example, when fish caught in one of the large traps that are set about driftwood logs at sea were brought to us as a gift, the chief Maroligar offered to cook them for us, and broiled them over a little fire of dry coconut leaves. He explained that if we cooked them in our usual way--in a frying pan--there would be no more driftwood, hence no more fish caught with the big traps. A glimpse of another fishing taboo appeared when some men bringing in a catch of fish shouted a warning, and small boys on the shore went away. One of them tried to tell me why, but I could not understand. Tom explained that women and children must not watch when fish are brought ashore. This taboo does not seem to apply to all kinds of fishing, certainly not to bonito drives, in which the whole population takes part. I failed to find just how far it applies."

The following varieties of fish are caught: mṓs, jalṓń, debắr, baligắli, ētắm, igeliwṓdj, mắl, moguḗïm, gamädjṻ́gid, rä́li, balijalaṅáb, mắṅar (flying fish), in addition to sharks and turtles. [29]

There are different methods of catching fish:

I. by angling:

a) gāwṓdj: the fish hook is made of tortoise shell (see illustrations 88-90); this is used to get the mṓs, jalṓń and debắr outside the reef.

b) bắ: composite fish hooks; they consist of a shell lure of various kinds (made of white tawấi, violet bajṓk, black Meleagrina, yellowish mäắl, shining mother-of-pearl jä́rr, black wấi, plus hooks of tortoise shell, tufts of frigate bird feathers, and the necessary lashings. There are two types of these bắ hooks:

1. with the mother-of-pearl side inside, to catch the balijalaṅáb.
2. with the mother-of-pearl side outside, for the baligắli and ētắm.

c) gōlimắt or djṻ́: a hook of coconut shell for the flying fish (mắṅar); it is fastened to an empty coconut, which has been plugged. Several of these fishing contrivances are thrown into the water, and when they jerk or disappear the fisherman knows that he has a bite. The canoe goes out at once, and brings them in with the floats.

d) goraîniï: a large wooden hook, used to catch sharks; the shark is also caught with the snare.

The hooks are kept in coconut or bamboo boxes; the cover and bottom are made of wood.

II. Net fishing. Various kinds of nets are made of kalekǎl, a kind of coconut string, and they are all tied with wugawŭg knots.

a) djŏu net with a composite frame; the two parts of the frame have special names; the lower section with the handle is the ŭb; the upper portion the kadŭl. There are two forms of this net:

1. with a broken frame (as on Sorol); this is used to take flying fish at night outside the reef, with a torch-light illumination. The following story tells how this night fishing started: in early times the natives did not know how to capture the flying fish at night. One day Módj was in Oleai, and about sunset he started for Fanalur. As he intended to stay there for a couple of days, he took his sleeping mat along. He left for home at twilight, and the sea was so choppy that his mat went over board. [30] He did not discover this misfortune until he arrived in Oleai. He got several men to take coconut torches, and to hunt for his mat. When the canoe was on the open sea, the flying fish appeared and sprang into the boat. Finally the men found the mat, and returned home with a good supply of fish. This was the origin of the night fishing with torches.

2. With a straight frame, for the igeliwŏdj, măl etc.

b) fă̈u is a large net with a circular wooden frame and no handle. It is used to take the moguĕ̈m and gamädjŭ̈gid inside and outside the reef.

c) ä̈dĭ̈n is the ordinary net with floats (uabä̈s) and sinkers (fa͡ulĭ̈m). It is used to catch various kinds of fish inside the reef at ebb-tide.

d) ŭ̈g is a large, almost square net, which is folded on one side, and closed on one of the narrow sides, that are formed in this way. It is fastened to a stone with a string, and two ä̈dĭ̈n nets lengthen the opening; these are attached to the two vertical sides of the ŭ̈g, and laid out in such a way that they widen out on the sea side in a funnel shape. (See drawings 100-101). [31]

III. The smooth mesafär or gobä̈i spear, which may be three meters long, is used for spear fishing. This type of fishing is combined with the use of the ä̈dĭ̈n nets. Several canoes make a circle of these nets; the fish are driven together, and then speared from the boats.

IV. Fishing with traps is called ŭ̈.

a) ulubä̈m: traps like the one shown in drawing 2 on the third plate [AN: see source].

The names for the different parts are:

entrance - mä̈d
bottom - badjebä̈dj
side wall - bĕ̈ïg
roof over the entrance - rŭ̈gu

back wall - gă̄bi raised pointed part of the roof - ŭ̄ń.
These traps are laid on the sandy ocean floor, and then sand is heaped around them, so that they can not swim away. Lă̄gum (crabs) are used for bait.

b) ŭ̄limerouwŏ̄li is the same kind of basket that is used on Sorol; it is used to get the rā̄li. The terms for the various parts of the trap are the same as in a).

This basket is fastened on one side to a wooden float, and then attached by a rope to the canoe, which has to proceed very slowly.

V. Kite fishing is known. The kite (djŏ̄ligodjā̄luk) is made out of bread-fruit leaves; a bait (kāulŭ̄lu) of cob-webs hangs on the string; [32] elsewhere Sarfert says that the epidermal tissue of the shark is used as a bait.

VI. The natives engage in snare fishing (nĭ̄m) at different times, and also use various kinds of snares.

a) the lă̄wud, the bait-fish for the shark, is caught with a snare, just as it is on Polowat.

b) Drawing 102 shows the contrivance, used to catch the shark; the central vertical string (karigă̄n) has the bait, which may be one of several different kinds of fish....

c) When the natives want to capture a turtle, they take an ordinary rope, make a noose, and slip it over the head and front feet of the animal. In this way it is easier to haul the prey into the boat. On land, they simply turn the turtle over on its back.

2; Damm et al. --27-32 (1909) 1938 Woleaians-5
116, 226 Ifaluk

VII. Fishing with poison was formerly unknown; later the natives learned about it through the Yap inhabitants. There is no name for this kind of fishing.

For fishing the natives had:

a) a fish spear (kowuâi); it is an ordinary pole;

b) fish hooks (angling rod is wău, Hellwig: wahâu); these are to catch the xăli, large čŏp, mādi, small ätám. (Hellwig). 1. hooks that are fastened together (bă, Hellwig: pă) of many shapes; bait of Meleagrina (Hellwig: săr), less frequently wâi shells or spondylus, tortoise-shell hooks (wŏad), light flies of the feathers of the frigate bird (xatáf), string of ăromă fibers. 2. simple tortoise-shell hooks (gāuŏdj). 3. simple coconut hooks to catch flying fish (măñar) in the daytime; an empty coconut serves as a float. 4. wooden hooks (gŏ) for sharks.

The hooks are kept in the familiar covered baskets (Hellwig: săvo, saûwo, saûb, săp, săob) of bread-fruit wood (Hellwig: kalaûv, xalaû).

c) Nets (djōu, Hellwig: srŏu) in the shape that was described in the Polowat volume; Hellwig adds: frame - katté, wood - ŭŭ, tying - vaûva. The handle (ĭb or ĭboli măñar) is fastened on shortly before the net is used. These nets are used to catch flying fish (măñar) at night in torch light. [125]

d) fish kite (djoligodjaûk) to take the dăx (Hellwig) with a bait of fish (?); this is attached to a line between three and four meters long.

e) snares (nŭm) to catch sharks; the same method is used on Polowat. Râigumeń is invoked before each fishing expedition, and sacrifices are brought to him.

[CS: Omission of the various kinds of fish, that are caught, page 164]
mănar the flying fish, appears four times each year.
1. Angling (angling rod - bâû, the wrapped handle is tigŏ́u); it is equipped with the following kinds of fish hooks: [165]

a) bắ is the hook, that is fastened together; its bait consists of Meleagrina or spondylus, and its hook is made of tortoise shell; the "fly" is made of clipped frigate bird feathers. Terms for the various parts: angling line of hibiscus fibre - eŏr or eŏl, bait - năm, point of the hook - matắl, base of the hook - ramŭ́m, fly - igŭ́d. These hooks are kept in wooden chests (sâûp).

b) tfu is the plain wooden hook, used to catch sharks. Hambruch obtained a rare example; it was a double hook made of a piece of Pteroceras shell.

c) tarăń are the newer angling hooks, made of a piece of bent iron wire.

d) porăli mătś is a simple fish hook of coconut husk, which is suspended on a coconut, that serves as a buoy (for its use see Damm and Sarfert, 1935, page 49). This type of fishing is rarely used today.

2. The natives fish with etfń nets on the reef. The terms for the various parts are xoloxŏ́l (number 1), tanŭapip (no. 2), eăń (no. 3), bugebŭx (no. 4), metắt (no. 5), net sinkers-fâû u lŭ́m, net floats - xuapĕ́s: the latter are often carved in the shape of fish. The large net does not belong to an individual, but to the men's house. [166]

3. For weir fishing they use the following weirs:
   a) a substantial one made of coconut strings (ulipăm of the same form as those on Ifaluk. The terms are: floor - bŏxebox, back wall - xapĭt, side wall - pĕigil, roof - xuluxŭl, raised and pointed portion of the roof - unăl.
   b) weirs (ule mŏurŏuĕd) with a barrel-shaped roof of strong coconut leaf nerves. The names for the various parts are: projecting part of the roof - xromăre, cover - unăre, side wall - xobăr, floor - ĭră, door in the rear wall - irĭ ŋ, handle - tanĭn.
   c) like b) but rectangular.
4. For kite fishing they use a kite (kapĕs) made of a bread-fruit leaf, which has been stiffened with a coconut leaf nerve. A tarăn hook hangs on the string.
5. Snare fishing is done with a snare (nŏm) fastened to a wooden stick; the bait hangs from another short string.

Special Customs. The chief's permission is required before groups of men can fish together in the large canoes. The "first counsel" oversees the canoes and fishing, and then the chief divides the catch according to certain rules. Loud calling and trumpeting on the conch shells summon the population to come together. The fish are spread out on the beach, and they are tabu until the division is made. Hambruch watched the natives divide 45 large fish (faŭfaŭ and takŭ'u); a sick old woman received the largest takŭ'u, Hambruch had two faŭfaŭ, five takŭ'u and two faŭfaŭ were given to seven guests from

Ifaluk, two takŭ'u to the chief, one takŭ'u to the "first counsel," one takŭ'u to the "second counsel," one takŭ'u to the Oleai native Olapĭl eighteen takŭ'u to the nine houses, ten little cuttlefish (Tinte?) to the crews and the "first counsel," two takŭ'u and the small fish to the boys.

On the second expedition that Hambruch saw, eleven large and 390 small fish were taken (the latter were chiefly caught in the drift wood weirs). They were divided in the following manner: Hambruch got two large fish, the chief two, the "first counsel" one, the "second counsel" one, the Oleai native Olapĭl two large ones and ten little ones, the seven Ifaluk men had three large and sixteen small fish, the nine houses 270 little ones (thirty for each), the canoe superintendent fifteen little ones, eighteen small ones for the eight houses in Pix, fifteen little ones for a man, who had helped build the boat. If the catch is not so large as they had expected, the fisherman goes to the "big house" or to Ponijŏu's spirit house, lays down a sacrifice, and asks for a good haul.

3: Thilenius and Hellwig--245 (1909-10) 1927 Woleaians
116, 173, 782, 226 Aurupik

[LEM: Concerning an isolated house and grave, Hambruch was told:] the god Yongelap gave orders to the man Choiss in Yap to travel to Aurepik and there to create men and women out of a Spondyl shell so that the island would be populated. This was done, and Choiss became the father of a son, Raigumeng, whom Yongelap appointed as protector against typhoons. Raigumeng is revered like a god. The natives invoke him before they go fishing: "Raigumeng, give us fish!" On other occasions, e.g. before a sea voyage, offerings are made to him. Within the house many offerings were suspended: wreaths, necklaces, mats, coconuts, etc. Since Raigumeng's death his house and grave have to be kept in good condition.

The alu Saulal* is responsible for many of the fishing taboos. He has close contact with the ocean into which, deep down, he was banned because of his evilness; to him come the souls of the evil after their death. He has three servants: Alusitét, who is thought of as his son, who comes whenever someone breaks a taboo and Pónerol and Lepériperúodj (from périper "to cut"=falafal see the discussion of boat construction, and uodj "reef" which would give it the meaning of "reef cutter"); they are sent to help the humane beings. Soulal gave mankind the turtle which he made hard and strong. But if men want to get the benefit of his deeds they must obey his taboos; e.g., a man must wait for 10-20 days after having had sexual intercourse before he is again allowed to go out fishing; he must not touch the lure pa which is used for bonito fishing during one month, and by no means before the next new moon; in the case of the flying fox fishing, the fisherman must wait for two to three months before he may return to his house.

The fisherman must not touch the water holes in which coconut fibers are soaked; if he does he must wait for 4 days and for the same length of time may not eat any bonito in case he has beaten coconut fibers; the same taboo applies to any person who has touched excrement. The regulations apply also to women; they may not eat any bonito at all as long as they are in the imatamai, nor for three months after they leave. When a woman has been in the imafatiu she must wait for ten days.

*He is thought of as the elder of the two brothers of Aluelap.

We have reported on the taboos west of the sósor boundary; sósor is the word for the fishing ground in the inland water mainly west of the mentioned boundary. If one wants to go fishing in that area no fire may be lit in the village after 10:00 o'clock at night [48] and no food may be eaten at that time. The boats that sail to the spot must first call at the islands of Puik (Búiüg) and Faleit before they may get started on the actual fishing trip. If the taboo is broken, legs and abdomen are believed to swell.

Among the sacred activities is the killing of fish with the ceremonial axe tellé i lolomai which is also used for the boat construction.... Taboo for women on Elato are the gorurĩãp, sonmalot sóu (mackeral) and the skipiia which is held sacred on Satoan and before whom the natives must bow.

4: Krämer--48-50
116, 226

(1909) 1937

Woleaians-1 -4
Lamotrek

Reef Fishing; guis Catch.

The holes on the reef are marked by pebbles that lie next to their entrance. By means of a long, thick stick two to three meters in length one investigates whether anything has been caught in the hole. The octopus comes out and is speared. The following are some of the native terms used in connection with this form of fishing: bow--liketáfedj, arrow--eâuten which is a very simple instrument; fishspear Hellwig: tolig, wood--vas, prongs--rumul, obailitóto lig of coconut wood, tip--metale obai, end--sabille.

Hook fishing.

The fishhooks used in the west have previously been discussed in connection with fishing on Lukunor. A few illustrations 23a, b, c, [VMM: see source] show big lures and hooks that are pressed down; hooks used on Lukunor on the other hand, like those of Ralik (see there) are turned up more (cf. Hambruch: Nauru); the length of the hooks used in this area is about six centimeters.

Keeping of the hooks in boxes--sóp. The original hook was cut from a piece of coconut shell as it is pictured in connection with Feis, which is said to have been pulled up with a hook of this type.

Fishing lines are mainly made of fibers of coconut husks....Hellwig's catalogue has some from the island of Elato and calls them by the name of djaluig....Also fishing rods are known and used.

For kite fishing gedjeg, a thin line known as dja luga and made of aroma fibers is

necessary; new kites are always made of an artocarpus leaf; [49] for bait goilul lu baggo is used and the garfish locks its teeth into it. *

Fishing with a Hand Line from a Boat

The best bait on the hook is octopus. The hook with its bait is tied to a stone with a slip knot and the stone is carefully dropped into the water. When it has fallen to the bottom of the ocean, the fish gradually push down in order to get at the bait. When the first stirring of the line is felt, it must be pulled in with one sudden movement. If the hook has caught the fish, the fish is pulled up, although it frequently happens that sharks catch it as it is on its way up to the surface of the water; there seem to be sharks in the waters around Lamotrek. If that is the case, the sharks must be caught first if the fishermen want to get their prey and to recover their fish hook. But after no more than half an hour, the fish has been digested in the stomach of the shark to such a degree that

*Catching is also done with the loop lóma pãgo with the purpose of later making strings, gúiluil, from the skin and of using them for tag fishing (Belone); the lines made from this skin are as thick as pencils and are often one to two feet long.

it can hardly be recognized. For that reason a black shark modjog, is feared greatly.

lukapá hooks (Hellwig: pa sar, see figure 23a of source) are used for fishing of gali and etam which are principally caught at night. The etam red surmullet swims around the region where the waves run high in the calm water of the reef opening at night; at low tide it stays inside and at high tide it goes out. Lure of pearlshell is called a passär, faipar, or sárrurod. Hellwig has a pearlshell lure with an iron hook without barbs; Krämer has nine hooks of tortoise shell, one of which has a barb rom, near the tip on the outside; the lures were black or reddish of meleagrina. The paluk (Figure 23b [VMM: see source]) is used for etam fishing which is done during the night. Figure 23c [VMM: see source] is used for the same purpose with a brown shiny lure of cowrie shell (cypraia), which is called upuil. For flies, the feathers of chickens or frigate birds are used (Elato) or else grass, búgor, as is the case with the pa wai hook of black mother-of-pearl, wai.

Hooks of tortoise shell are called gõbodj, and one specimen is given in Figure 24 [VMM: see source], (Hellwig: ā bors, alü daidjau). They are used for larger fish, daidjau, and have a width of about five centimeters. The tips are strongly bent inward and are called lámagap. In the year 1910 they were no longer in use.

Fishing of flying fish, mangar, is done with an angle hook (see Krämer, Palau, III, page 77, Figure 62) in the month of December. On Sëtowal it is continued later in the season when the boats have returned from Poloat. Then the fishermen go into the

canoe-house and the sorcerers begin to sing their songs. [50] [ER: some of the songs are given in the German text, but are omitted here.]

The fishing line with float called pil which is similar to the one pictured for Onoun, is now made ready ... The angle shaped hook is cut from coconut shell and tied as float to the coconut bottle that is stopped up. Of course, it is a piece of a young coconut kernel, which is scratched out of the shell with a spatula and which is given the shape of an octopus by means of a bamboo knife; the bait is tied to one end with a fine banana fiber. Then the angle with the float is laid out and observed from the direction of the sun.

Customs in Fishing

Later on there followed further taboos and magic and fishing at night to the illumination of torches.

Fishing of flying-fox starts in December and continues almost through the entire season of the trade winds. When the fishing period is finally over, the fisherman, after an additional waiting period of four days, may return to his house.

Fishing (búil) of bonito, garangap is still practiced. The fish is considered sacred only if it is caught with the lure pa (bã) on sea; this is quite in line with the Polynesian customs. We have already discussed the taboos; they are exceedingly strict.

Soon after a fish is caught, it is cleaned of all dirt with an ear branch. The catch is greeted with a special exclamation. A fisherman, who comes home feeling cold is the object of mockery. The men who have not caught anything are not in favor with the women. Fasts are prescribed for the time of the trade winds but are not necessarily observed from March to September. With reference to the banquet, iles...

After reaching the shore one carefully lays down the fish with their heads facing inland. They are seized by the tail and carried. Fish may not be swung to the sides as they are carried. If the person who carries them meets someone on his way he must not stop. When the fish is laid down by a house, it must be placed alongside the building with the head pointing in the direction of the sea. Then the stove, um, is started. When the fire is lit and the stove is getting hot, the fish may be cut. The animal is laid on its back and

the bamboo knife (not an iron knife) is held in the right hand. The stalk of a coconut frond may be used. One cut each is made lengthwise and across and then the fish is peeled out with the first finger and the skin of the belly together with that of the throat is removed, is whirled in the smoke of a fire that is lit on a coconut frond róurou, wrapt in breadfruit leaves, magárigar, and put in the stove. [51] The insides of the fish and particularly the roe are eaten raw, after they have been waved through the smoke for just a little while; the heart is given a similar treatment. The other insides are cooked. The head which is cut off, the shoulder pieces, the tail without bones and the back pieces are all laid out on leaves, wrapped and cooked on hot stones. The dress for the karangap fish is called magárigar. That finishes the taboos.

If a fisherman has broken the taboo and been near women and is taken sick after his fishing trip, Alusitét is thought of as the originator of illness and a sorcerer addresses a prayer to him while he stands holding two bunches of coconut leaves in his hands.

4: Krämer--59-60
116, 226, 286

(1909) 1937

Woleaians-1-3
Lamotrek

Nets djauo, djrou.
Float--úgopēs, sinker--faurem.

The nets are made in the usual manner (according to Hellwig) with the netting needle, djaf, which must have the width of the mesh metal ("his eye") which is held secure by the knot búgabug. The yarn is wound around the shuttle kadjap; the split ends of the shuttle are known as ewále or kadjap.

The netting needle is generally of arur wood, but the shuttle is of bamboo, buái, which comes from the west (Yap).

The yarn, gologól, is made of the husk fibers of young coconuts, which must soak in water for three to four months before they may be treated with the fiber beater, the pelai or komang. Then they are twisted into thin cords, mut, on the thigh (or by a special mechanical device); [60] two or, more rarely, three or four mut constitute the gologól.

Made from coconut yarn.

garom	mesh is as thick as a pencil and is square; the net is approximately two meters long and one meter wide and is held by two men.
ugali vomei	the mesh is as thick as a finger (vómei--deep water)

ugalei — mesh of the thickness of four fingers.
ieting (aating) — mesh of the thickness of six fingers.
gal — a net made in the Ifaluk manner. It is a net bag attached to three handle cords, by which it is hauled in. Into the netting, at the bottom, a live fish is placed. The diameter of the net is two to two and a half feet. For bait, ro and gidjegidj are used. The fish caught are mainly scarus species; often five to ten varying in length from a half to one foot are hauled in at a time.

swimmer above
uápes
sinker below
baurem

ū til (tin) is used for catching the small (5-8 centimeters long) til fish which resemble our sardine. gosi met a til is to be translated as "catching the eye of the til" and is the name of a song, which the women start singing on the fourth day after fishing has begun, and which ends with a general scream; for the first four days no til may be eaten, especially since at the start the returns are rather poor. til is eaten with its bones; the head is put into the mouth first; otherwise fishing will be unsuccessful. The net is a long sack held open by two parallel rods. A third stick lies across the two like a handle. Counts up to one billion (see Feis at the end) indicate the nature of catches of this fish.

ugalei (like garom above) serves as a net sack which comes handy when by means of rul lines--which are called rob here--a funnel is set up on the reef platform at low tide; through it the fish are driven into the net. The ugalei net is often laid out in a semicircle. In place of a second net often a basket u le moróuel (see above) is added; in the

case of garom they are mainly modj, márafas, etc.

A frame net, djrou soiloile is shown on Plate 5a [VMM: see source].

The frame is called atil, the fork ekan, the wooden section underneath the lashing básebas, the lashing vövò, the mesh metál, the knot bugabug, the tips of the net fangál, and the handle komásu.

Hellwig calls the fishing net djrauŏ, the front part of the frame gatille, and the back part viabále.

Hellwig: fishing net djrauŏ, frame atil.

Plate 5b [VMM: see source] is a net for catching the souls of Ikelur, which is called djrou i alus, because with it evil spirits may be caught that have been driven away.

A large fishing net was another specimen picked up.

4: Krämer--60-62 (1909) 1937 Woleaians-1~2
116, 226 Lamotrek

Fish Baskets u ul marauel (moróuel)

Angular baskets are not emptied by being turned over, but by means of a bent rake, tangak. [61]

Driftwood with Fish Baskets (gabeibei).

In the past driftwood trunks were looked upon as the welcome bringers of fish, which gathered around them. When the natives are out searching for floating logs and when they find them the natives take off their hats; they must not stand up in the boat, because alu Tautup might resent it. Before they tie the baskets to the logs they sing a song to Tautup. [ER: one of the songs sung on this occasion is given in the original text, but is omitted here.]

When the singing is finished, the fish baskets, ū le morouel, are tied to the side of the tree trunk. A few of them are in one line, with the bottom of the baskets up and the opening in the back on the leeside. The basket furthest aft is considered best. Then the tree trunk is fastened and taken in tow. The most common fish caught in this manner is the bream, rell.

Tying of the baskets to the drift wood is considered a task not without all danger, because sharks swarm around the logs. The natives tell that recently a shark bit a fisherman who had a fish in his mouth.

Fish baskets are submerged in the inland water, let down to a depth of 1-2 fathoms. The natives remember the distance from the land and then have no trouble recovering

their traps. Handing in of the baskets buë or pio, is done with the kafáigo lifter. The word pio has given the name to the basket ū lepio, which is otherwise known as ū le fato. (Then there is a rake tangak in Hellwig's catalogue with which the fish are taken out of the basket.)

At the entrance and further out towards the sea, baskets are dropped down to a depth of 7-8 fathoms and occasionally to a depth of 20 fathoms. The stones that weigh down the baskets, the faipăs, must be large and heavy. These depths are chosen only during the months of March and April when the current is slight and when the water is at low tide. Generally the natives know the exact spot where they have cast their baskets; they search for them with the hook, heave it up a little and let it drop back down so that the hook may find a secure position before the basket is hauled up. The following are additional types of baskets: [62]

ūs'sõ for catching the sand mullet. No bait is used to attract this fish but sand is piled up around the opening. In spots where seaweed, pom, floats around off the sandy beach, the baskets are placed in it instead of in the sand.

ū le pam is used to catch small sand barbels uorik, which are attracted by a bait pa (=pa lure) of rakum or raking le bëap; of land crabs. The opening is called úasig.

ulam are small baskets with which boys go fishing in shallow water, and which have bait in them. They are round in form.

4: Krämer--185
116, 226, 335, 462

(1909) 1937

Woleaians
Woleai

Fishing is the main occupation of the men in addition to the construction of houses and canoes. It is practiced inside the lagoon and on the high seas. The implements used are spears, and fishing lines, traps, and nets that are laid out on fishing banks.

4: Krämer--194 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 226 Woleai

The fishbaskets resemble those of Lugunor, but the instrument used to haul them in is not the same, for on this island divers go down to bring up the prey.

4: Krämer--233-237 (1909) 1937 Woleaians-1-6
116, 226 Woleai

Fishing

a. General Information

The fishing line, djal, is made of the fibers of áromē; the epiderm of the bark is removed, the fibers are scraped with shell pieces and dried in the sun.

Born: fishing, seloch; with the spear, koboi; fishing rod, bau; fish hook, cho; basket, boiau; net, jedeng; fishbank, kassutsch; catching of flying fish, tūlimingar (see above dulima...).

The following hooks, ba were collected: (angling stick Hellwig: tigo, wai, hook, wau lü vül) (Kotzebue: gau) (for ceremonial hook see above Figure 89 [VMM: see source]. Hellwig shows an open hook from Falalis).

Krämer enumerates the following hooks: bā lietam;
bā ligátaf, of black mother-of-pearl; djar used for fishing djep;
bā ligataf faibar of red spondylus used for fishing gali; [234]
bā levil for Bonito fishing, karangap

Hellwig enumerated the following hooks:
pā faipar from Votagai (Figure 102a) [VMM: see source] used for catching kalli, mol and dettivars;

pā fai, (Figure 102b)[VMM: see source] from Mariam, with barbs on the outer side;
pā ssär (Figure 102c, d) [VMM: see source] (Hellwig: ba garangap e ssër, of pearl shell) used for catching large ëtam;
fai wai, lures of black pearl shell, waü, used to attract matak' tra, moil, ëtam, and gali.

Krämer shows test hooks, gŏ, used to catch all types of fish (Lamotrek: gobodj); matalipa hooks for balug fishing which is done from the canoe and known as baligat'taf (from gat'taf to move up and down); done on the inner reef, ëllang. The containers for hooks is described in the section on vessels and containers.

Hellwig has a coconut box with fish hooks, wai teri pér.

According to Lütke, three types of fish hooks are used on the island: small and bow-shaped, made of wood, length of a thumb, shells, coffer-fish part, lure Gerres (Tinga). 2. Hook made of mother-of-pearl and used for moonlight fishing of Serranus, Bodianus, Labrus, Balistes, etc. 3. Larger hooks for Bonito fishing, taken in tow by the canoe, with coconut pinnae.

Hellwig: fishing kite made of a breadfruit tree leaf, srou e gataug (Lamotrek: gedjeg). It is shown in Figure 103 [VMM: see source] with a lure of shark skin, gëli boggo or koilül li boggo. Length 70 centimeters, width 35 centimeters.

For shark fishing, lomaliboggo, with the lure, tag.
Eel loops are non-existent.

b. Fish Spears

Hellwig: tau of coconut wood; Lütke: hattan a pointed stick.
Hellwig: gobai of areca wood from Yap.
Hellwig: small to lik of song wood; prongs, rumúl; point, metál. dúlimat, to fish on the reef by torch light (dul, torch); dulemangar the same as applied to flying fish.

c. Fish Baskets and Nets (Lütke, page 237).

Driftwood fishing, gabeibei i rēl. On November 6, 1909, it was announced that a large tree trunk had been sighted on the northern side of Wolea; we went out and saw it with Agupelior as our guide. The fishermen sailed over the surf at the reef and fastened the baskets to the flanks of the boats. [235] The natives of Mariong caught more than 100 small gray Brassen.

The opening is roofed, and the basket itself has a cupola-like form; this type is known as ulebam. Hellwig: ulepam; roof, rug; 2 chambers next to the opening, peg. Horizontal hoop at the opening, pögepög; bottom on the outside, bassebass; vault, ung; back wall, kab; frame forks in the interior, ula roi; inner side framework, sure; rings, talling lū u le pam.
ulebiou looks like an elongated box.

ulemoroval (...morouel) is club-shaped and thickened on one side.
Hellwig: ū le garer turning basket. It is placed in the water with the open side down. When fish swim into it, the basket is quickly turned up. The strong longitudinal poles, olol, are made of root wood, wogaralle giriau, and the thin ones are of wogarolle lū. Transverse plaiting, gobor; handle and frame, ū.
Hellwig shows another the same but with a hand-maneuvered stick; basket, tangag; wood of the plaited part, jaro.
util is longish and cylindrical, and is held between two canoes.
util is also the term for a net with a frame (Kotzebue: ueh) which was brought back as a model (see photo 19a) [VMM: see source].
Krämer shows a gajap, filet needle; uapes, swimmer; faorem, sinker, Handnet for flying fish, sou, Hellwig: srou; frame [ER: the original text reads Namen, misspelling for Rahmen?] aturtrou; handle, fouwo.
ëteng, net for fishing on the high seas.

According to Lütke, boschebok is the task of the women. They stand in the inland water forming a semi-circle in the direction of the beach, and they lay out the nets close to one another. The men stand on the beach with spears, and drive the fish into the baskets.

Born says that swimming boys arrange the nets in a semicircle. The ends are pulled

ashore and boats cruise around; there is much noise, but it is rare that much is caught. At one time, 1000 salmon-like skibijak were caught in one haul on Paliau.

Upon the arrival of a fishing canoe, all the people run from the beach into the bush and the fish are taken into the house. A fire is lit, the index finger is held over it and then the tongue is touched with it. Finally the distribution of fish takes place.

The fishermen, fita, tõfita, tõseilog, liap, after their return from fishing trips, must stay in the fallap for five months. If they were to act counter to this regulation, they would be eaten by sharks, or the sharks would devour their fish, and their wives would be stolen.

[ER: Some boat songs follow in the original text but are omitted here.][236] In Kotzebue Entdeckungsreise...page 125, the following is said about dolphin catching: "In these waters three types of dolphins occur, those with white, red, and black bellies. When the natives of Ulea notice the animals near their shores, about 80 small canoes set out and surround the group and drive it in the direction of the shore. When they are fairly close to the beach, the men annoy the animals by throwing stones at them until they swim ashore. In this manner large numbers of them are caught. Their meat is very popular. When the bodies are cut up, special techniques must be observed, because the superstition prevails that a wrong cut keeps the animals from the island for a certain period of time. At Svilick (where?) there is only a narrow entrance in the reef; [237] through it the animals are driven into the lagoon but none of them are killed until their

number is fairly large (about 50). On the islands of Ulea, this type of fishing is practiced with especial success. On the other islands, achievements in this art are not quite so great.

Kotzebue Entdeckungsreise...page 132, that children are taught when a frequently caught little fish (probably the sardine sennif of Truk) is on hand: "If it should happen that someone were to get hold of one of this type of fish by the tail and were to lift him in this position with the head hanging down, when the time for the next fishing expedition came, all the fish would seek the bottom of the sea in the same manner, with heads down and none of them could be caught."

Lütke, page 166, says that in October and November there is a shortage of fish and fruit. As a substitute, sea birds are eaten. Fishing is done from 2-4 in the morning and from 8-9. Preceding the fishing trips, sexual intercourse is taboo. Fish-baskets (of volcameria branches) are set out in such a manner that the opening faces the current of the tides; it is necessary to check every other day and for that reason the natives own two baskets at least. The women have small baskets, unababa, with crayfish lures, and without them, in the case of large ouh used in shallow waters and great depths; these are raised by means of weighted hook-sinkers. Oil (chewed from a kernel) is poured out on the water so as to see better. Fishing with a handnet is done by the light of the sun, or at night, when the fishermen hold three coconut fronds as torches in their left hand. Night fishing is known as eddoll.

5: Kittlitz--161 (1827-8) 1858 Woleaians
116, 226 Woleai

We noticed fish baskets, similar to the ones at Lugunor, but no instruments to pull them out of the water; divers always brought up the ones which were sunk here inside the lagoon.

6: Senfft--57
116, 226

(no date) 1905

Woleaians
Woleai
Lamotrek

For fishing they use weir baskets, nets, spears, and fishhooks. There is one very practical method which I have not seen anywhere else. It is used to catch a type of fish which has a long mouth almost like a beak and strong teeth; it leaps out of the water with great force and is therefore quite dangerous. To catch this fish, the natives make a kite out of the ribs of coconut leaves. The kite has a rounded shape. Instead of cloth or paper, they wrap a leaf of the breadfruit tree around the framework. They take the kite into the canoe and fly it above the water. One line is attached to the kite which is held by the fisherman; the other is suspended into the water and the bait is attached to it. If the kite remains stationary, the fisherman can leave as much room between the boat and the bait as he likes so that he is safe from danger and only reaches the line on which the fish is caught when the fish has bitten into the bait.

Besides the construction of houses and canoes, the main task of the men is fishing, seloch. They go fishing both within and outside of the lagoon, and they use spears, koboi, fishhooks, bau, fish-traps, buiau, nets, jedeng, and weirs, kassutsch.

When they use fishhooks, the fishermen, most of them boys and young men, stand up to their chests in the water. The bait consists of pieces of coconut or marr. The hook, cho, is attached to a line which is tied to [185] sticks 1 or 1 1/2 meters long. Formerly the fishhooks were made of shells or tortoise shell. Today all the natives get both the hooks and the lines from traders.

The fish-traps vary considerably both in size and in shape. Divers place the baskets in the water and then take them up after two or three days.

Often, if nets are used for fishing, all the inhabitants of the island help. The net is spread out into a semi-circle, and men and boys swim along the periphery and hold it taut; I noticed that the oldest natives, including the local chieftain, were stationed at each end to pull it toward the land. All the rowing canoes which are available are posted around the net. The net is dragged slowly toward the shore with much noise and shouting. The result, however, usually does not correspond to the amount of time, labor, and noise that went into this work. I observed several occasions at which not more than 20 fish were caught. At other times there may be a large number of fish. I was told that one of the natives of Paliau Island had caught several thousand skibijaks (jaringab) at one time, this fish apparently is similar to the salmon and is large and tasty.

Weirs are seldom used. I saw only one, constructed like those used on Jap, which was made of large pieces of coral rock and had been placed in the outer lagoon by Tagaulap Island.

Flying fish, tülimingar, are caught at the same time and by the same method as on Jap. During the period from February to May, the men go out at night with their torches to catch large numbers of flying fish in circular nets. At this time, the same rules apply to the fishermen as on Jap; they may not have sexual intercourse or sleep in their own houses.

It is said that the custom of catching flying fish was introduced on Jap by Ululssi and Oleaï.

There is one kind of fish, the bright red bolé, which the natives of Oleaï never eat; it is taboo for them. The people of Jap eat this kind, although they do not consider it a delicacy.

When a canoe returns from a fishing expedition, everyone on the beach runs away and hides, [186] from the fishermen. After the men have landed by the large house, they go to the fireplace in the hall of the house, hold their finger into the flame, and touch their tongue. As soon as the people in the bushes see this, they emerge from their hiding place and the fish are then distributed.

12: Lutke —135
116, 226

(1828) 1835

Woleaians
Ifalik

All night long we could see fires in various places; the natives use them to help in their fishing.

24: Christian--239
116, 226, 784

(No date) 1899

Woleaians
Lamotrek

"'For four days before a fishing expedition the Lamotrek natives sleep apart from their wives. They go out fasting in order to ensure success. When they make their first haul they drink one green coco-nut apiece, and put in shore for the ceremony of Yaf-ilok--The Coming in of the Fire. A fire is made, each takes a fish, broils it, and eats it. Each fisherman then goes down to the sea, washes mouth and hands in the salt water, and invokes the blessing of Aliu-set and Sau-lal, gods of the sea. This ceremony over, the distribution of the heap of fish commences. If any women or children come near and break the taboo by helping themselves, the same will receive swelled ankles or elephantiasis as a punishment and visible token of the anger of the spirits.'"

28: Spiro--17
116, 622, 226

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"With these remarks in mind, we can now turn to the actual functions of the chiefs. In the first place the entire economic life of Ifaluk is under their direction and supervision. Communal fishing expeditions are never undertaken without their direction or consent. A man may go fishing any time he desires, but only the chiefs are empowered to order the entire village to go fishing. Since fish is a vital part of the native diet, it is important that these trips be successful, so that the chiefs must be well-acquainted with the habits, movements, and habitat of the various species of fish, so as not to order the men on a wild goose hunt. Once the fishing begins, certain men, who are recognized as expert fishermen direct the work, and since two of the chiefs are so recognized, their share in this responsibility is large, but they function not as chiefs, but as fishing experts.

All communally-owned capital goods are manufactured at the orders of the chiefs. Fishing traps and seins, which are vital to the Ifaluk economy are made only when the chiefs order them to be made. Now, it must be realized that every man is fully aware of the importance of replenishing these objects, and yet no one will undertake to do so, or take the initiative in getting others to do so, unless ordered by the chiefs."

28: Spiro--23 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
226, 626 Ifalik

"When Taroman was finished, Wolptau took over. He told the men that should any of them go fishing they were to bring their catch to the chiefs for distribution so that the old and the sick would be provided for. This is the customary procedure, but Wolptau saw fit to remind the men of it, since some of the men had been violating this custom. This demonstrates how violations of custom are handled. No individual is rebuked, or singled out, but a general rule of conduct is enunciated, which apparently is sufficient to ensure conformity."

28: Spiro--39
116, 396, 226, 501

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"There is one ritual ceremony connected with the construction of a large canoe. After the canoe is painted, a fire is lit outside the canoe-house for four consecutive nights, the canoe remaining in the canoe-house for that time. Failure to light the fire, would result in the men being unable to catch fish from that canoe--the fish would simply not bite."

28: Spiro--39 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 226, 476, 262 Ifalik

"Except for the rare gathering of crabs by the women, and the even rarer slaughtering of a hog or killing of a chicken by the men, fish is the only source of meat, and it is highly prized. Fishing is done both individually and communally. Private fishing is of minor importance, as compared to the communal fishing. It consists of reef fishing with rod and line, and canoe fishing inside the lagoon and on top of the reef with line and bait, either live or lure. The natives make hooks of mother-of-pearl, and also use those introduced by the Japanese and by us. The term, individual fishing, must be qualified. It does not mean that an individual fishes privately, for this is very rare. Individual fishing is almost always practiced by a number of persons whether it be three or four boys casting into the surf, or nine or ten canoes, each trowing inside the lagoon or on top of the reef in a moonlit night."

28: Spiro--39 [3] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 226, 476 Ifalik

"A minor form of cooperative fishing is the use of a fish trap in the shape of an arrow-head, made of the piling of stones to a height that juts above the water in low tide, but which is submerged in high tide. The fish inside this trap cannot escape at low tide because of the jutting rocks, and the men catch them with hand nets. There are three such traps on the island, and they provide sardine-sized fish, but only at certain periods during the year, which the natives know intimately and control quite well.

Another minor form of cooperative fishing is the use of a portable coconut-twig fish trap inside the lagoon, close to the shore in shallow water. The fish, the same kind caught in the stone traps, are 'driven' into the traps by the men standing patiently in the hot sun for many hours. The men stand behind the school of fish preventing them from altering their course, gradually heading them towards the trap. When one enters, the rest will follow, and the traps are constructed so that ingress is easy, but egress is well-nigh impossible. This work requires the cooperation of a number of men to guide the fish and to provide relief for each other as they work in shifts.

The fish caught by these techniques are either eaten immediately by the men themselves, if the haul is small, or is taken to their homes to be consumed by the entire household, if the haul is large. In the former case the men cook the fish themselves; in the latter it is prepared by the women."

28: Spiro--39-40
116, 226, 476

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1-2
Ifalik

"None of these techniques [WPM: using traps] compare in importance to the large co-operative fishing ventures, of which we can distinguish two kinds--sporadic fishing inside the lagoon or in the ocean, in the trade-wind season, and a period of three month persistent daily fishing, at the beginning of the prevailing westerlies.

Communal fishing might be undertaken at the initiative of a group of men, with the permission of the chief, sailing outside of the lagoon, and trolling with seins. The fish is then divided among the participants. Most communal fishing, however, is all-island, at least all-district, and it is initiated either at the express order of the chiefs, because they think the fish might be abundant, or to celebrate a religious ceremony or the completion of some public works; or it is initiated by some one observing a large school of fish inside the lagoon, and conveying the information to the entire village. The latter kind of innauguration is the most colorful and dramatic. Fortunately two expeditions were initiated in this fashion in front of my eyes, so that it was possible to observe the entire operation. On the morning of one of these expeditions we were preparing breakfast, and Maroligar, the second ranking chief, was sweeping the decaying vegetation from Atelu. The village was quiet and serene with only the shouts and cries of children to interrupt the morning calm. Then, precipitately, Maroligar began [40] to shout in a manner that led me to believe he had gone stark mad. He had seen a school of fish, and this was his way of informing the people. They responded in an instant. Everyone

dropped his work, and ran to the canoe-houses. The village became a veritable madhouse. Men, women, and children, were all helping to carry large canoes, as well as traps, fishnets, and seins to the beaches. And the moment a canoe was launched, it was filled with men, who paddled furiously towards the fish. After the initial excitement the men settled down to a day of fishing, the object being to surround the fish with seins, gradually narrowing the circumference of the seins, until the fish were isolated in a small area, and then haul them in with nets and traps. The main problem, of course, is to surround the fish, and this may take two or three hours, chasing them back and forth across the lagoon. Once this is accomplished, the rest of the task is primarily watchful waiting, surreptitiously closing in on the fish, and preventing them from eluding the dragnet. This takes a long time, the men usually working under the hot sun from early morning until dusk.

The same technique is applied in the fishing announced in advance, except that there is no school to catch, and the process here is to systematically drag the shore side of the lagoon in sections, surrounding the fish, and catching them in nets and wires. This continues until the entire beach has been dragged, and again consumes an entire day."

28: Spiro--40
116, 462, 226, 834

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"The women are not inactive, for while the men fish along the shore, the women are preparing starch foods to be eaten with the fish. When the men are after a school of fish, the women dance and sing. For reasons, which no one could explain, except by the universal explanation of 'from before', the women perform a bwaruch while the men engage in this kind of fishing. A bwaruch is a love song-and-dance. Normally it is performed by a woman for her sweetheart as a prelude to lovemaking. The dance is very suggestive and lascivious, and the words to the song are quite candid, in their reference to sexual anatomy and physiology. Yet, while the men are engaged in catching the fish, the women assemble on the beach, one or two households together, and perform these dances, and sing the songs sometimes entering the water.

When the men return with their catch, it is taboo for small children and women to witness them or the fish, and they must retire to their homes until the fish is unloaded on the shore and distributed.

There are other taboos connected with fishing. The men may not have sexual intercourse the evening preceeding a fishing expedition, for they 'stink' and Solal, the god of the ocean will make them sick. After a fishing expedition the men may not have sexual intercourse, nor may they work, for three days. Should they violate this taboo the fish will not bite in the future."

28: Spiro--41
116, 226, 462, 834

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"The second category [WPM: see p. 40] of fishing is the three month fishing period at the beginning of the westerlies. Fishing during the other seasons of the year is sporadic because fish are not abundant. But in these three months the 'flying fish' are found in large quantities, and the men catch them in the open sea at night by the light of flaming torches. This period is characterized by the complete separation of the sexes. The men and boys sleep in the canoe-houses and are brought food by the women who sleep alone in their houses with the babies. All sexual relations are completely taboo during these three months."

28: Spiro--43 [2]
116, 423, 226

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Public property: This includes the seins, fighting traps, canoe-houses, and the Fanap. The seins and fishing traps are constructed by the men of a district, and remain in the canoe-houses. They are communal property, and are used by the men in their fishing expeditions. The Fanap is the 'town-hall', and though it is said that is 'belongs to the chiefs', it is actually used for all public meetings, and is repaired, in case of damage, by all the men of the district. The canoe houses, are theoretically owned by one individual, in that one of his ancestors is reputed to have built it. But, actually it is used by all the men, of the district, and is repaired by them. Any attempt on his part to prevent some one from using it would be unthinkable."

28: Spiro--114-115
116, 883, 462, 226, 184

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"The young men are accepted members of the society, doing any activity which their experience permits them to do. All toddy gathering is the job of the young man of the household. Like the men, they make rope. They participate in all communal fishing, and often fish on their own intitiative, particularly fishing in the lagoon. [115] In all construction work the young men are most conspicuous, for though they do not plan or direct the activity, they do most of the heavy work. If a roof needs to be relaid, it is the young men who are on the roof, and the older men hand them the material from the ground. In the making of canoes, the young men and boys have their share of the work, though it is usually the less-skilled work. One of the older young men might make his own canoe, and though he is assisted by an older man, the responsibility is his.

The young men also take social or economic responsibility on their own initiative. If the canoes are outside the canoe-houses, and it begins to rain, they will themselves remove the canoes from the rain without being told to do so by the older men. The point that is being stressed here is that the young men feel themselves integral members of the culture, and assume responsibility for the perpetuation of the group and its culture."

28: Spiro-131 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 226, 834, 768 Ifalik

"Though sexual mores are liberal, there are periods in which any sexual activity is taboo. Should a school of fish enter the lagoon during the day, and the men spread their nets in the passage, leaving them over night, no sexual activity is permitted that night. Should a man violate the taboo, his spear, directed at the fish, would enter his own body. During the season of night, torch-light fishing, which lasts for about three months, the men sleep in the canoe houses, and may have no social or sexual intercourse with the women. The men bring fish and toddy to their families, but leave them at the door of the house, and may not enter. The taboo extends for one month after the end of the period making a total of four months. Should a person violate the taboo, a shark or sword-fish will kill him, or an alus of the sea will make him ill. At the death of a spouse there is a one month taboo on intercourse (and on remarriage)."

28: Spiro--147
116, 517, 226

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Often, the young men will go fishing in the afternoon, and what they catch is eaten by them immediately. The playing of checkers or cards may take up an entire morning or afternoon."

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

133 sand. Out from the beach there was a hundred yards or so of coral platform, largely exposed at low tide, then finally the edge of the reef itself against which the great rollers of the Pacific broke their force all the year around.

133 361 The other inhabited island, Falalap, was rather different: a large, rounded blob sticking out into the sea and spoiling the neat circle of the atoll. The habitations were all on the northwest end of the island, across the narrow pass from Falarik. Here, too, there was a maintained park-like area, corresponding to the lagoon-side coconut grove of Falarik: but on Falalap, coconuts and large breadfruit trees were interspersed, giving a different "feel" to the landscape.

133 137 262 The center of Falalap was largely a great swampy area carefully cultivated by the women of both islands. Two kinds of aroids (taro), *Colocasia* and *Cyrtosperma*, were grown there for their edible, starchy roots which, with breadfruit, formed the staple food of the atoll. We did not get around to exploring this region in any detail until late in the summer.

123 226 The mapping operation was kept up fairly steadily for several days, but there were always intermissions. On Friday afternoon—the second day of the mapping—Bakal and Yani had no difficulty in persuading us to knock off mapping and go spear fishing. We all piled into Bronson's skiff and rowed over to the shore of Ella, outside the pass into the lagoon. Don was rather snooty about this skiff, remarking that a Western rowboat looked like a garbage scow beside the trim and speedy Ifalukian canoes. But Yani and Bakal liked it—perhaps partly because it was foreign, but also because it was steady and because it [136] could hold several people easily. Don, maintaining his scorn, called it the BWUP after one of the more ungainly species of trigger-fish.

227 Yani and Bakal each had steel-pointed wooden spears, about fifteen feet long; and short, slender steel spears. The long spears were for poking; the short spears were shot from a sling. The sling looked like a strip of inner-tube; at one end was a string loop, tied on firmly; at the other end the rubber was tied into a loop just large enough to slip over the thumb. With the rubber loop over the right thumb, the string loop was pressed over a slight notch in the butt of the spear, and the spear then simply pulled back with the left hand and let go. It worked like a Hawaiian sling spear, with the hand replacing the hollow bamboo grip.

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR2}
Ifaluk

Hawaiian sling spear, with the hand replacing the hollow bamboo grip.

Fish were not too plentiful and all were small. In a short time Bakal got four small surgeon fish of two species and a small bright-colored reef fish. None were over five inches long—which showed that small fish were not scorned as food.

Don had taken his Arbalete spear gun—a complicated and lethal weapon that had as yet hardly been tried. Yani borrowed it, and Don was greatly cheered to see him miss a couple of shots—Don had been feeling sheepish about his own misses. Presently there were loud shouts from Bakal and Yani. Yani, for fun, had shot a big moray eel with the Arbalete gun. (For fun because the Ifalukians do not eat moray eels. Ted explained this as a sort of pact: the Ifalukians did not eat morays or sharks, with the idea that the morays and sharks would reciprocate. The pact was occasionally violated by both the morays and the sharks.)

The spear was deep in the neck of the big eel, but the eel was still lively enough so that we did not dare try to bring it into the boat, and it was impossible to get it off the spear. So we rowed all the way home towing the speared moray behind the boat. After dragging the eel up on the beach, we managed to get the spear out. Don, Bakal and Yani then started out again, swimming, to try for more fish among the coral heads of the lagoon in front of the Fan Nap.

Don got a fine chance at a blue crevelley about a foot long, and hit him right through the middle. Just then, Yani swam up and pointed to a big moray eel completely out of the rocks and swimming rather feebly along the sandy bottom twelve feet below. The eel was partly on its side and seemed to be looking up at them. The thought flashed through Don's mind that some fool had thrown the speared moray back into the lagoon, and there it was, out for revenge.

They had just started to get themselves out of there when a big shark shot by—a huge, grey torpedo. It made a swift circle around Don, Yani and the eel. Yani shouted and thrashed the water with his hands and feet, at the same time making for the nearest coral head, yelling for Don to come. Don was close behind, still with the speared fish. They clambered onto the platform of coral, where they were standing in water about halfway up their thighs, Don holding

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

123 the fish and spear high out of the water, trying to avoid attracting
226 the shark with blood. Once more the shark swept by, this time with a second shark just behind. Bakal swam out to the reef, in response to Yani's yells, carrying one of the big, long spears, while Toroman rowed out with the BWUP to pick them all up.

Yani had fished around the coral heads of the lagoon all of his life, and said he had never before seen sharks come in so close to shore. He had a theory that the noise of the spear gun had attracted them. It seemed more likely to Don that they had followed the nice trail of blood from the speared moray, dragged all of the way across the lagoon from outside the pass (where sharks were common) to the area off the Fan Nap. The speared moray was still lying on the coral sand, so the one they had seen behaving so queerly in the lagoon was another.

[260] The day ended with a fine fish dinner.

Ted turned on the radio that evening to listen to some music and
123 presently accumulated an audience of several Ifalukians who had happened to drift by. The next evening people started accumulating on the temple grass behind the Fan Nap shortly after dinner, and it soon became apparent that they wanted another radio concert. The news, apparently, had spread that this was possible. We were a little appalled at the prospect of having to give a radio concert every evening, none of us being much addicted to radios. We explained that the battery would get tired if it were worked too hard. Then Don happened to think of the phonograph.

The expedition had been equipped with a portable, wind-up phonograph. No one knew whose idea this was—perhaps a hang-over from some previous atoll expedition with a juke-box addict among its members. The accompanying records mostly looked like juke-box material, though of uncertain vintage, along with a few records of Hawaiian music.

We pulled down the box of records, which had been stored away high on a beam in the Fan Nap, and set up the phonograph on the temple grass lawn back of the camp. Tony, eagerly helping, said he knew all about phonographs—that experience with the Coast Guard Station on Ulithi again—so we turned the machine and records over

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

after breakfast. All sorts of things went into that notebook (one of those waterproof engineer's books, carried in a case on the belt) and I had a chance to exercise my file-clerk instincts in keeping them straight. Numbers for plant notes had a square pencilled around them, so they caught the eye quickly. Pack and film numbers for photographs taken with the Crown Graphic had a circle around them; numbers for the Leica were double underlined; numbers for the Kodak Reflex were distinguished with a triangle.

The only marks for Thursday, July 9th, the day following the clean-up, were triangles, because the only notes were on photographs taken with the reflex. This was because the day was spent on a fishing expedition and I carried only the reflex. I never had liked that camera much, so I carried it whenever I thought there was danger of damage or loss—in this case, danger of salt-water damage.

Most of the men of Falarik were involved in this fishing expedition. Preparations started early in the morning. Great lengths of rope were hauled out of the canoe houses and wound spirally with strips of palm leaves, one after another, until the effect was that of a huge pile of monstrous green tinsel. The lengths of rope, as soon as they were prepared, were carried down to the lagoon shore and piled into the canoes.

By about ten o'clock everything was ready and the flotilla of canoes pushed off—a couple of dozen of them, the small one-man kind, and the medium-sized kind that carried four or five men. None of the big sea-voyaging canoes were launched. We went, with Bakal and Yani, in Bronson's rowboat, the BWUP, named for the ungainly trigger-fish. We felt awkward and sedate in this tub, but we were afraid of being a nuisance if we asked to go in one of the canoes. Anyway, Yani and Bakal were enamored of the BWUP, and it did make a steady base for observation and photography.

There was a row of about a mile across the still, bright lagoon. We took turns at rowing as a matter of principle, of sharing activities. But I am no athlete under any circumstances, and I was perhaps too obviously glad when I could stop the rowing and stretch out on the prow of the boat with head overside, staring into the mysterious sapphire

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

123 depths. The lagoon deepened rapidly, but there were areas, even in
● 906 the center, where it was only thirty or forty feet deep, and the shadows
[133] of coral heads below could be made out.

Presently the water began to shoal again, as we approached the
502 reef. For a while the boat could be maneuvered through the sandy
226 channels among the coral heads but all hands had to walk across the reef itself while the boat was pulled through a narrow, shoal, "canoe pass" which, although only a few inches deep, was clear enough of coral to enable the canoes to be floated across the reef.

123 I was wearing alpargates, South American canvas sandals, excellent
133 for rain forest, but no good for coal reefs—this was the last day in the life of those sandals, and I had to use great care to make them last even for the walk across the reef. Yani and Bakal were managing nicely in their bare feet, which showed the incredible toughness that the human hide can reach, but even they were walking carefully.

It was something over a thousand feet across the reef. On the far side, on this still morning, there was only a gentle surf from waves averaging only a foot or so high. This was the lee side of the atoll, in terms of the trade winds, but at this season when the trades were not blowing and when the rain was often from the west, the breakers here could be very high, a pulsating line of white on the horizon from the view point of the Fan Nap.

The BWUP was pushed out beyond the breakers and boarded again.
[136] Here, outside the reef, was the shark zone, but none were seen all day. Yani said one of his relatives had been attacked by a shark in this region, but had saved himself by pulling off his loin-cloth and covering the eyes of the shark as he charged by.

226 The reef shelved off gradually and details of the bottom could be
133 made out clearly in twenty-five or thirty feet of water. The bottom was solidly encrusted with life—corals, coralline algae, sponges and the like—except for the narrow, smooth "surge channels," kept clear by the rush of water along the bottom returning from the surf. They were like ravines along a mountain front.

226 The canoes started playing out the coconut-bedecked rope, finally forming a huge semicircle out from the reef. The rope was weighed down with coral-block anchors and attached to each of the regularly-

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

spaced canoes with a line. A large V-shaped seine was set in the middle of the semicircle, its bottom and sides over one of the ravines. When all was ready, groups of men on the reef at each end of the semicircle started hauling in on the rope, bringing the two ends continually closer together, so that eventually a big circle was formed with the off-shore edge just in back of the apex of the seine.

Everyone was in the water except the men hauling on the ends of the rope, the canoes being pulled along as the circle contracted. Everyone who owned them wore goggles, and with goggles the whole theory of the operation was clear. The frightening line of weaving fronds moved slowly along the bottom, driving hordes of fish of all colors, shapes and sizes before it. The swimmers followed along with the rope, and as the circle got smaller and smaller and the water more and more shallow, the circle of swimming men formed an additional barrier above the palm fronds. The fish, milling frantically inside the barrier, were finally driven into the seine, which was then closed, pulled up between two canoes, and the contents ladled into another canoe with a dip net. When the seine was up, many of the men went in with spears and dug out the fish hiding among the coral boulders.

This process was repeated three times during the day, the canoes and seine being moved each time to a new position along the reef. The total catch for the day was one of the middle-sized canoes about half full of fish. This was not regarded as a really good catch, but everyone seemed reasonably happy, and the fishing expedition, accompanied by a great deal of laughter and horseplay, was a fine combination of business and pleasure.

The BWUP with its passengers was sent in over the reef ahead of the rest, since it was so slow. The whole flotilla had moved around the reef toward the north end of Falarik during the course of the day, and the BWUP, on the way home, pulled in to this part of the island, where Yani and Bakal scouted for drinking coconuts. We all sat, relaxed, on the trunk of a fallen coconut for our drinks, and for the first cigarettes of the day. Because smoking before or during a fishing expedition is taboo.

The canoes came dashing home across the lagoon in fine style and by the time we got to the Fan Nap the canoe-load of fish had been

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

pulled out and dumped, ready for distribution. This, as always, was the special function of Toroman. Five big red fish were put in a pile by themselves, for the chiefs, and there was another pile of special kinds of fish, mostly trigger-fish, set aside by custom for the old men. The remainder of the catch was sorted out roughly by size into piles of large, medium-sized and small fish. In the meanwhile, men representing each of the various households gathered around, smoking and chatting. All had freshly-woven coconut baskets for their share of the catch. These baskets, quickly made from the green palm frond, were the ordinary packaging material of the island.

In the first round, Toroman tossed to each man two of the larger and three of the middle-sized fish. Then each got ten to twenty fish from the middle-sized and small piles, the number depending on the size of the fish and the number of people in the household. Then every family got one more large fish.

Don and Yani weighed a few specimens of the different kinds and sizes of fish, and calculated that the total catch was about 630 pounds. About forty pounds of the smallest fish were thrown out as too small for use, or because they were of kinds considered inedible. The seine catch as distributed, amounted to about two pounds of fish per individual inhabitant.

Everyone had fish that evening, and very good it was. Several of the most prized kinds of fish were given to us. These were expertly fileted by Bakal, and equally expertly fried by Ted in bacon grease after being rolled in corn meal. Ted was a master at this. Jobs around the Fan Nap were generally pretty equally shared, but Don and I always tried to maneuver Ted into the fish frying job—not, for once, out of indolence, but because he really did have a touch. The Ifalukians generally roasted fresh fish like these whole over coals from small coconut-husk fires, and they were awfully good that way, too.

This kind of fishing, with giant rope-and-coconut-leaf tinsel dragged over the coral bottom of the outer reef, was called rop fishing. Whether Ifalukian rop had any connection with English rope was questionable. Ted thought the similarity coincidence, since the rop fishing must have been an ancient practice, long antedating any contact with English.

The Ifalukians, like the people of all of the old Micronesian and

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

Polynesian cultures, had almost endless ways of catching fish. Individuals or small groups fished with spears or with hook and line. A method that appealed to me particularly was to attach the hook and line to a kite, which was sailed from a canoe in the lagoon: thus combining the pleasures of fishing with those of kite-flying (one of the numerous instances where I couldn't decide whether a particular operation should be called "work" or "play"). There were also a variety of ways of trapping fish, with traps ranging from the large, permanent stone weirs built along the lagoon shore, down through various types of wattle traps, to improvised affairs of plaited coconut leaf sometimes set by the women in the shallows—the only fishing operation of the women, aside from collecting crabs, shellfish and the like. Women, in fact, were subject to various sorts of taboos in relation to fishing, and sex was strictly suppressed during a prolonged fishing operation.

There were various ways of catching special fish, like tuna, bonito and flying fish, when these appeared, but I didn't get to see any of these operations. Later in the summer, however, Don and I did spend a very active day trying to get a complete photographic record of a lagoon seining operation—the kind of fishing called yating.

The Ifalukians had an immense supply of seines—great piles stored in each of the canoe houses. The accumulation of seines and of rope seemed a direct consequence of the almost compulsive male habit of making sennit twine. Whenever a group of men were sitting around gossiping, or helping us gather information, or quietly watching the horizon, some of them would pull handfuls of fluffy leached and pounded coconut fibers out of their purses, and start twisting them into twine. This process, like knitting with the women of the West, did not interfere with either conversation or thought; and since it went on constantly, the twine output was considerable. The sennit twine had a great many different uses, but much of it ended woven into seines.

In the case of the particular yating operation that we photographed, the morning started with groups of men shouldering lengths of seine and carrying them down from the canoe houses to load them into canoes beached on the lagoon shore. The canoes took off in orderly procession, each dumping its seine in turn and connecting with the next until there must have been nearly a mile of seine forming a great

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

● 226 semicircle out from the shore and back again. Then men on shore started hauling in the seine, moving slowly along the beach to close the circle, a process that lasted from midmorning to midafternoon. Men in canoes were constantly guiding the movement of the seine and as the circle narrowed in shallow water, men with great dip nets stationed themselves along the seine at regular intervals to catch the fish that were frantically leaping out from the milling horde within. Finally, as with rop fishing, the imprisoned fish were driven into traps which were emptied into canoes, to be taken back to the Fan Nap [592] where Toroman, as always, supervised the division of the catch by households.

But the photographing of the yating fishing took place late in the summer. We had only been on the island a couple of weeks when we took part in the rop fishing expedition off the reef and we were full of wonderment about everything that went on about us.

535 571 The evening after the rop fishing there was dance practice again. It was going on every evening and I began to develop a theory that daily dancing was a basic element giving cohesiveness to the island's social structure. It seemed to combine the functions of amateur dramatics (participating in activities) and going to the movies (spectator entertainment). In this case the same people were at one time participants and at another time spectators. Even the kids formed their [857] dance groups, clapping and stomping and chanting in shrill, enthusiastic voices—usually in the early evening, before the adult sessions started. (My theory was all right, I think, except that dancing was an intermittent rather than a continuing activity, since there were long danceless periods between the proper ceremonial occasions.)

535 292 Even for these practice sessions, the people generally got pretty much dressed up, the men at least wearing garlands of flowers on their heads and coconut-leaf skirts over their loin-cloths. The men of Ifaluk, of course, tended to be the gaudier sex. This may be "natural" not only for man but for animals in general, Western civilization being out of step in this regard. Even in the West it hasn't been so long since the days of bright, embroidered waistcoats, and Hawaiian shirts seem to be spreading now in certain parts of the United States.

000 At any rate, Ted thought it was time for a present when Bakal

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

CHAPTER VI

FISH WATCHING

DANCE rehearsals continued almost every night, and it was clear that we were expected to attend despite the interference with both work and sleep. Somehow I didn't understand until some time later that this dance business was largely a response to a request of Ted's. He had particularly wanted, during his first stay on the island, to see some of the important traditional dances, the ur dances, but no such ceremonies had taken place. Before we started for Ifaluk this time, Ted had written to the anthropologist of the Trust Territory Government, expressing the hope that we would be there in the proper season for the dances. The anthropologist had passed the word on to the chiefs by way of the trade ship which called at the island about a month before we arrived.

It turned out that we were too late. The proper time for the ur dances is at the close of the period of ceremonial fishing by torchlight for flying fish. But the Ifalukians, wishing to please Ted, rearranged their ceremonial schedule. They couldn't bring the flying fish out of season, but they could perform the dances.

The dances were really, as Ted explained, a religious ceremonial designed to please the gods. But, as Ted further noted, this did not mean that the content had to take some special religious form: the kindly gods of Ifaluk enjoyed whatever interested the people.

Religion seemed in general very unobtrusive on Ifaluk. There were sacred spots like the altar in the back of the Fan Nap (completely unused during our stay); there was the wild tangle of vegetation in sacred